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MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

OF

DWARD GIBBON, Esquire.

WITH

EMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:

LUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS.

WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,

By JOHN LORD SHEFFIELD.

VOL. VI.

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TRANSLATION

TRANSLATION

OF THE

LETTERS.

N° I.

Mr. CREVIER *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, PARIS, 7th Auguſt 1756.

I AM extremely obliged by your expreſſions of eſteem, without taking them in the literal ſenſe, and believing myſelf an oracle. But I am a lover of truth and ſincerity, and always ready to avail myſelf of the communications of my learned friends. With the greateſt pleaſure, therefore, I received your ingenious conjecture illuſtrating a paſſage of Livy, by which I had been puzzled. I adopt all your obſervations and reaſonings. By changing a ſingle letter, you ſubſtitute, inſtead of an aukward and obſcure meaning, a thought perſpicuous in itſelf, ſuitable to the character of the ſpeaker, and connected with the purport of his diſcourſe. I ſhall not fail noticing this judicious correction, when an opportunity occurs, and mentioning the name of the perſon to whom I am indebted for it.

I will add only one remark, of ſmall importance indeed, but neceſſary for giving complete correctneſs to the paſſage with which your attention has been ſo ſucceſsfully occupied. With your emendation it runs thus: *Nec eſſe in vos otio veſtro conſultum ab Romanis vicinis.* The *in vos* does not appear to me to correſpond well with *otio veſtro*; ſince it ſeems to indicate

ſomething adverſe to the intereſt of the Carthaginians, and therefore does not accord well with the idea of their tranquillity. Inſtead of the words *in vos* I would read *in his*; which would render the paſſage perfectly correct. *Nec eſſe in his otio veſtro conſulum ab Romanis credatis* Do not believe that the Romans, when they "deprive you of your forces, and forbid "you to make war on foreign nations, mean thereby "to promote your tranquillity."

It remains only, Sir, that I ſhould thank you for your goodneſs in communicating to me ſo happy a thought. It would give me the greateſt pleaſure to be frequently favored with ſuch aſſiſtance in my literary labors.

I have the honor to remain, with much gratitude and reſpect,

Yours, &c.

N° II.

Mr. ALLAMAND *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, BEX, 12th September 1756

AFTER eſcaping from the tumult of public functions, in which the miniſters of this church are employed during the holydays, I ſit down with much pleaſure to converſe with you a few minutes on paper without intending to make any very violent exertion in anſwering the queſtions concerning innate ideas which you propoſe for my conſideration. I am not willing to riſk the being obliged to ſay, with one of Terence's characters, *Magno conatu magnas nugas*; beſides, it is long ſince I looked into Locke, the modern oracle on that ſubject; and too much time and pape

would be requiſite completely to canvaſs ſo intricate a ſubject. You will have the goodneſs, therefore, to be contented with the firſt reflections that occur to me on ſome paſſages of his firſt book.

In chapter i. § 5, that able writer undertakes to prove that the axioms, *Whatever is, is* and *It is impoſſible for the ſame thing to be and not to be at the ſame time*; are not innate; becauſe children are totally ignorant of them, as appears from their never taking notice of them; and many perſons die without ever perceiving the truth of theſe axioms; "but it is impoſſible," Mr. Locke obſerves, "for an idea to be in the mind, which the mind never takes notice of." It is plain that the whole weight of his reaſoning reſts on this laſt aſſertion; which aſſertion itſelf ſeems to be manifeſtly contradicted by experience. Do you perceive, Sir, at this moment all the ideas that are in your mind? Are there not ſome of them which you may not, perhaps, take notice of for many years? In the efforts which we make to recal things to the memory, are we not ſenſible that ſome ideas may be ſo deeply hidden in its receſſes, that inſtead of continually perceiving them, we have no ſmall trouble in bringing them back to our remembrance? I know that Mr. Locke, c. iii. § 20, endeavours to obviate theſe objections; but the length and perplexity of that article ſhows that he was not at eaſe in writing it. How indeed could he be ſo? ſince, as far as I am able to judge, the followiny is the reſult of his argument: "I confeſs that we have ideas in the mind, of which we are not conſcious; but then theſe ideas are in the *memory*; as appears from

" this, that we never recal them without remem-
" bering that they formerly were objects of our per-
" ception. But this is not ſuppoſed to hold with
" regard to what are called *innate ideas.* When theſe
" are perceived for the firſt time, it is not with
" reminiſcence, which would certainly be the caſe if
" they had been in the mind before this firſt percep-
" tion of them," &c.

Be pleaſed to tell me, Sir, whether you think that Mr. Locke himſelf well underſtood the diſtinction which he makes between *being in the mind*, and *being in the memory?* And of what importance is it, that we remember to have formerly had the recalled ideas, provided it be allowed that we had them long without taking any notice of them, which is the point in queſtion? Beſides, Mr. Locke ought to have known that innate ideas are not recalled with *reminiſcence*, becauſe thoſe ideas come originally into the mind in a way that neither excites nor requires our attention; for whatever Mr. Locke may ſay, every one may be ſenſible from his own experience, that many even of his acquired ideas could not have come into his mind independently of the preſence of certain objects of which he had never taken any notice; or in general, independently of certain unknown cauſes which enriched him, without his being ſenſible of it, with ideas that he did not believe himſelf poſſeſſed of, till they actually preſented themſelves to his underſtanding.

As to the main queſtion, Mr. Locke ſeems to me perpetually to confound two things extremely different; *the idea itſelf*, which is a perception of the mind

and a principle of reaſoning; and the *expreſſion of that idea* in the form of a propoſition or definition. It is poſſible, nay, very probable; that many perſons have never formed, or thought of the propoſition *It is impoſſible for the ſame thing to be and not to be at the ſame time.* See Locke, b. i. c. 1. § 12. But does it follow from this, that they are ignorant of the truth expreſſed by theſe words? By no means. Every man who affirms, denies, or ſpeaks; a child who aſks, refuſes, or complains, muſt know the truth of this propoſition. Does it not appear to you, Sir, that the doctrine of innate ideas may be defended on the ſame principle by which Mr. Locke attacks it; namely, that many perſons have never thought of the propoſitions or deſcriptions by which they are expreſſed? For if without ever having thought of thoſe propoſitions, they make uſe of them in their reaſonings, and employ them in judging of the juſtneſs or abſurdity of every diſcourſe which they hear, how could they be ſo familiar with principles which they never diſtinctly took notice of, unleſs they had a natural knowledge or innate perception of them?

In paragraphs 17 and 18, Mr. Locke denies that our conſenting to certain propoſitions at firſt hearing them, is a proof that the ideas expreſſed by them are innate; ſince many propoſitions, thus aſſented to, evidently expreſs ideas that had been acquired; for example, *two and two make four*, &c. But does is not appear to you, that he here confounds the definition of words with ſelf-evident truths? at leaſt, all the examples which he gives are mere definitions. The idea expreſſed by *two and two* is preciſely the ſame

with the idea of *four*. Nobody says that our knowledge of the definitions of words is innate, because that would imply language to be so. But the knowledge of this truth, *that the whole is greater than its part*, does not imply that supposition; since an infant shows itself acquainted with this principle, when, dissatisfied with the half of an apple, it indicates its desire to possess the whole.

Take the trouble, Sir, to examine § 23; in which Mr. Locke endeavours to disprove the assertion, that there are some principles so truly *innate*, that those who hear them expressed in words for the first time, immediately comprehend them without learning any thing new. "First of all," he observes, "it is "clear they must have learned the *terms* of the expres- "sion, and the *meaning* of those terms." But here Mr. Locke manifestly departs from the question. Nobody says that words, which are merely arbitrary signs of our ideas, are innate. He adds, "that the "ideas denoted by these expressions are no more "born with us than the expressions themselves, and "that we acquire the ideas after first learning the "terms by which they are expressed." But, 1. Is not this to take for granted the thing to be proved? There are no innate ideas, for all ideas are acquired. Mr. Locke would laugh at his adversaries, were they to make use of such an argument. 2. If words are learned before ideas, at least if that is always the case, as Mr. Locke understands it to be, I would be glad to know how the first language could have been formed, or how it could be possible to communicate to any one the meaning of

word altogether new to him? A perſon who had no idea of *order*, for example, would be no more capable of underſtanding the word order, than a man born blind could underſtand the word *color*.

In paragraph 27, Mr. Locke denies innate ideas, becauſe they are not found in children and idiots, in whom we ought moſt to expect meeting with them. I anſwer, 1. Thoſe who admit innate ideas, do not believe them more natural to the mind than its faculties; and as the ſtate and conſtitution of the body diſturbs the faculties of idiots, the ſame cauſe may hinder them from ſhowing any ſigns of innate ideas. 2. The fact is not ſtrictly true. Even idiots and infants have the idea of their exiſtence, individuality, identity, &c.

In the remainder of that paragraph, Mr. Locke diverts himſelf with the abſurdity of thoſe who believe the expreſſions of abſtract maxims to be innate; but the moſt determined ſcholaſtic never maintained any ſuch opinion; and he combats a chimera which is the work of his own fancy.

I know not how it has happened that, inſtead of a few general reflections which I intended, I have ſent you a long and tireſome criticiſm on ſome paſſages of a ſingle chapter. The remains of laſſitude, probably, made it eaſier for me to follow and diſpute with Mr. Locke, than to think and reaſon alone. Have patience, and pardon me. There are many remarks to make on the ſecond chapter, where he treats of innate practical principles. But I will not tire you with that ſubject, unleſs you deſire it.

Our newſpapers ſay, that the King of Pruſſia has beat the Auſtrians, and killed twenty thouſand of their men; with the loſs of fifteen thouſand of his own. This was the object he had in view when he paſſed through Leipſick. If the news be true, the war muſt become general; and, according to appearances, it will be terrible. But I much fear leſt his Pruſſian Majeſty meet with the fate of Charles XII. What are his reſources for defence againſt the united ſtrength of France and Auſtria, and perhaps of Ruſſia?

I have the honor to be, with the moſt perfect conſideration, yours, &c.

ALLAMAND.

N° III.

Mr. ALLAMAND *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, BEX, October 12, 1756.

I am delighted with your laſt letter, equally diſtinguiſhed by accuracy and penetration; and with you, Sir, I believe that the queſtion approaches to its deciſion.

You are right in ſaying, that the ſelf-evident propoſitions, which I mentioned, are not merely ideas, but judgments: yet you will have the goodneſs to obſerve, that Mr. Locke having given them as examples of ideas which paſs for being innate, but which he does not regard as ſuch, the miſtake is chargeable on him, and not on me, who had nothing farther to do than to refute his manner of reaſoning. Beſides,

you will be pleaſed to remark, that the real queſtion is, whether not only certain ideas, but alſo certain common and ſelf-evident propoſitions be innate. The only examples produced of innate ideas are thoſe of God, unity, and exiſtence; the other examples are of innate propoſitions, which you call judgments.

You aſk, whether it be poſſible that our judgments ſhould be innate, judgment being nothing elſe but the act of our intellectual faculties in comparing our ideas, and our judgment concerning ſelf-evident truths being merely the perception of thoſe truths by a ſimple glance of the mind? I grant all that, but would aſk, what elſe is an idea but a glance of the mind? Thoſe who define it otherwiſe, widely depart from the original ſenſe of the word; and talk unintelligibly, when they ſay that ideas are ſpecies; that is, appearances of things impreſſed on the mind, as the images of corporeal objects are impreſſed on the eye. All metaphyſicians have committed this miſtake; and Mr. Locke, though ſenſible of it, has choſen in his anger to direct his batteries againſt the weather-cocks, rather than againſt the building itſelf. According to the meaning of theſe metaphyſicians, there are ſurely no innate ideas, becauſe in their ſenſe of the word there are no ideas whatever. An idea is merely an act or perception of the mind: and the queſtion concerning innate ideas is merely to determine, whether certain truths be not ſo common and ſo evident, that every mind, not abſolutely ſtupid, muſt recognize them at a ſingle glance, without the aſſiſtance of any teacher, and without the intervention of any diſcuſſion or reaſoning; and often without

being ſenſible that this glance is caſt on them? The affirmative appears to me incontrovertible; and the queſtion thereby is ſolved.

You will pleaſe to remark, that this way of explaining the matter is as favorable to innate ideas, and therefore as oppoſite to Mr. Locke's doctrine, as the unintelligible hypotheſis above mentioned. For what reaſon do we contend in favor of innate ideas? To oppoſe evidence and certainty to univerſal ſcepticiſm; whoſe cauſe is ruined by proving certain truths to be ſo neceſſary and ſo natural to man, that they are univerſally recognized by a ſingle glance. This may be proved according to my meaning of the word idea, as well as according to the ſenſe in which this word is vulgarly taken; and the proof would not have been very pleaſing to Mr. Locke, who, without profeſſing himſelf a ſceptic, yet ſhows a leaning to the ſceptical ſide; and whoſe works have contributed much to the diffuſion of ſcepticiſm in the preſent age. His too eager deſire of fixing the limits of human knowledge, a thing highly neceſſary, has made him leave nothing but limits.

After theſe general obſervations on the main queſtion, it is not very neceſſary to deſcend to the particulars in which you think me miſtaken. Yet you will permit me to anſwer your objections. 1. It is true, that Mr. Locke, § 5. c. 1. joins the two expreſſions, being in the mind, *without being actually perceived by the mind*, and being in the mind, *without having ever been perceived by the mind*; but at the concluſion of the paragraph he lays himſelf open to my criticiſm, by expreſſing himſelf as follows: "So that

« to be in the underſtanding and not to be under-
« ſtood, to be in the mind and never to be per-
« ceived, is all one as to ſay, any thing is and is not
« in the mind or underſtanding." It is clear, Sir, that this great philoſopher erred in writing this paſſage; maintaining, what I took the liberty to contradict, that nothing could be in the underſtanding without being perceived to be there. I doubt not that he would have corrected this miſtake had it been pointed out to him; but he certainly falls into it, and employs it as a principle of reaſoning againſt his adverſaries.

2. You think that we ought to admit his diſtinction between *ideas in the mind*, and *ideas in the memory*. I admit the diſtinction with all my heart, provided you take the word idea in the ſame acceptation as I do. In that ſenſe an idea is in the mind, when the mind actually conſiders the propoſition which is the object of its idea, that is, of its glance or perception; and an idea is in the memory when the mind, having formerly caſt that glance on it, finds hereby a greater facility in recalling it, remembering at the ſame time that it formerly was the object of its perception. But if you underſtand by ideas thoſe chimerical *ſpecies*, the mere fictions of metaphyſicians, and, as it ſeems to me, not ſufficiently diſproved by Mr. Locke, I return to my aſſertion, and maintain that the diſtinction is unintelligible between " being in the mind," and " being in the memory."

A violent headach, which I brought with me from our venerable claſs, hinders me from continuing this letter, or rendering what I have already written

ſhorter and more perſpicuous. I intreat you to excuſe its imperfections. Your penetration will perhaps diſcern how all difficulties may be ſolved concerning innate practical principles. Mr. Locke treats this ſubject better than he does the others; but in ſeveral parts he is ſomewhat puzzled.

I rejoiced at the hopes of ſeeing you for a moment at Vevay, and was ſurpriſed at being *diſappointed*. If I rightly underſtand this word of your language, it cannot be well tranſlated into ours. I met with Mr. Pavillard only in the aſſembly.

If the march of a hundred and twenty thouſand Ruſſians is not a fable, what muſt become of the King of Pruſſia? Does it not appear to you; that we are threatened with great revolutions? I have long ſuſpected a deſign of reducing the general ſyſtem of Europe to three great empires; that of the French on the weſt of the Rhine, of Auſtria on the eaſt, and of Ruſſia in the north. Yet we read of nothing of this kind in the Revelation. But let the world be divided as it may, provided it be lawful for us to believe that "whatever is, is;" and "that two "contradictory propoſitions cannot both at the ſame "time be true." Thoſe three empires will be great only when meaſured on this earth; viewed but from the moon, they will be ſmall enough; and how far do philoſophical eyes ſoar beyond that luminary!

I have the honor to be, with much conſideration, yours, &c.

ALLAMAND.

Mr. de N*** writes to me that *things go better and better*, now that his niece Madame D. is

extremely ill; and that 200,000 men are ready to cut one another's throats at the rate of five *ſous* a day. He is provoked at the maxim, *all for the beſt.*

N° IV.

Profeſſor BREITINGER *to Mr.* GIBBON *at* Lauſanne.

October 22, 1756.

THOUGH I am Davus, not Œdipus, I will give you my opinion concerning the difficulties in Juſtin, which you propoſe for my conſideration.

1. In the third chapter of his ſecond book he ſays, "That Aſia was tributary fifteen centuries to the "Scythians, and that Ninus put an end to thoſe "contributions." The number of years is ſo manifeſtly erroneous, that it is aſtoniſhing ſuch a reading ſhould ever have been admitted into the text; for it makes Ninus later than Seſoſtris by a period of fifteen hundred years. Oroſius, who abridged Juſtin with the greateſt fidelity, ſpeaks to the following purpoſe: "The Scythians would have ravaged the whole of "Egypt, had they not been prevented by the marſhes. When they returned from that country, they "made a bloody conqueſt of Aſia, and rendered it "tributary. Having remained there fifteen reſtleſs "years, they at length returned home, at the earneſt "intreaty of their wives; who ſaid, that unleſs "their huſbands came home to them, they would, "for the ſake of having children, cohabit with their "neighbours." Oroſius, lib. i. c. 14. There cannot

be any doubt, therefore, that "fifteen hundred" has been ſubſtituted for "fifteen." You inveſtigate very ingeniouſly the cauſe of the error; but the emendation which you purpoſe, by changing *per mille* into *permiſſa*, cannot be well founded, if the number was expreſſed, as is moſt probable, by arithmetical marks in the ancient copies.

2. In Juſtin, lib. xii. c. 8. we read, "They (the "Macedonians) returned, after beating the enemy, "with congratulations, or thankſgivings, into the "ſame camp." In this paſſage you ſeem to me needleſsly to diſturb the ancient reading. You aſſume, without proof, that they did not venture to attack the Cuphites. Oroſius, Juſtin's faithful interpreter, declares the direct contrary. "When they came to "the country of the Choſides, they fought with "two hundred thouſand of the enemy's cavalry; "and, having conquered them with much difficulty, "becauſe they themſelves were now worn out with "years and fatigue, and ſunk in ſpirit, they formed "a camp more magnificent than uſual, to commemorate their exploit." Oroſius, lib. iii. c. 19. They did not, therefore, return into their camp until they had combated and conquered the enemy. Juſtin himſelf gives us to underſtand as much, when he ſays, "That Alexander, moved by ſuch juſt "prayers, cauſed, at the end of his *victory*, a camp "to be formed, whoſe walls might *inſpire terror* into "the enemy." If the Macedonians, therefore, as you imagine, had been frightened at the innumerable forces of the Cuphites, and therefore returned haſtily into their camp, I do not ſee why Juſtin ſhould ſay,

at the end of his victory, inſpire terror into the enemy, or *that they returned to their camp with thankſgivings.* It may here be remarked, in oppoſition to Sebiſius' emendation, that the expreſſion, *cum gratulatione*, if tranſlated "with thankſgivings," will include the *cæſis hoſtiis*, τα ευχαριστήρια θύειν; that is, the *ſacrifice of thanks*; ſo that your alteration of *cæſis hoſtiis* into *omiſſis hoſtibus*, is equally inconſiſtent with hiſtorical truth and the words of Juſtin.

3. In Juſtin, lib. xxiv. c. viii. we read, "Part of "the mountain carried away by the earthquake over- "whelmed the army of the Gauls; and its thick "maſſes breaking in ſcattered pieces, fell down with "great force, not without wounding the enemy." You need not be offended with the harſh tranſpoſi- tion of the word *hoſtium*, which you think ought to be joined with *confertiſſimi cunei*; as if that laſt word meant, the military *cunei*, or wedges, of the Gauls; whereas it really means the thick maſſes detached from the rock or mountain, which, breaking into ſmaller fragments, fell down and wounded the enemy, that is, the Gauls. There is no tranſpoſition there- fore in the caſe; the ſentence flows in the moſt natural order; and the *confertiſſimi cunei* ought not to be joined with *hoſtium*, leſt the ambiguity of the word *cunei* ſhould make it be applied to the military *cunei*, or wedges of men.

4. In Juſtin, lib. xxviii. c. 2. we read "That the "Romans could not ſave their city from the Gauls; "and when it was taken, inſtead of defending it by "the ſword, had ranſomed it with money." If this paſſage required, or admitted emendation, there

is no correction I would adopt more willingly than yours, which, instead of *captamque*, substitutes *capitoliumque*. Shefferus objects, without reason, that a city *captam*, taken, cannot properly be said *defendi ferro*, to be defended with the sword; for the Roman historians agree that their city, when taken, was defended, though in a cowardly manner. Orosius, among others, says, lib. xi. c. 19. "The "Gauls penetrated into the open city; Rome was "now taken; the rest of the youth were shut up "and *besieged* in the citadel of the Capitoline Mount; "where they were a prey to hunger, pestilence, "terror, and despair." You may perceive, therefore, that though the city was taken, its defence was not entirely abandoned; and if it had not been taken, it needed not to have been ransomed. It seems not to have occurred to you, that your correction implies the Capitol only to have been ransomed, which is not historically true.

5. In Justin, lib. xxxi. c. 1. we read, "Ambassa- "dors were first sent by the Roman senate to per- "suade Antiochus, King of Syria, that he should "not make war on the cities of Cæle-Syria, which "the Egyptians had occupied in the former war, "and which were therefore subject to Egypt; using "with him this argument, that these cities belonged "to a young prince, their pupil, who had been "committed by this father to the protection of the "Romans." This same Author, lib. xxx. c. iii. says, "M. Lepidus was sent into Egypt to govern that "kingdom, with the title of tutor to the young "king. A second embassy was sent, after Antiochus had

" had taken poſſeſſion of theſe cities, demanding " that they ſhould be reſtored; and without making " any mention of the pupil-king, merely on this " ground, that theſe cities belonged to the Romans " by the right of war. Juſtin, lib. xxxi. c. 1. What this right of war is, in contradiſtinction both to war itſelf, and to conqueſts made by war, appears from the two following paſſages, the firſt of which is part of Quintus Flamininus's ſpeech to the tyrant Nabis, in Livy, lib. xxxiv. c. 32: " By what meaſures is the " friendſhip between ſtates violated? Principally " by theſe two; when you treat with hoſtility our " allies, and when you make alliance with our ene- " mies. Are not you guilty of both, ſince you, " though our ally, have ſeized, by arms and " violence, Meſſené, a city as much our ally as " Lacedemon itſelf; and ſince you have entered " into an alliance with Philip our enemy?" The other paſſage is in Florus, lib. iii. c. 5. " The King " (Mithridates) did not conſider Aſia as a country " not belonging to him; but as it had been formerly " taken from him by violence, he ſought to recover " it by the law of war." I need not mention that " the law of war," in Juſtin, may have a reference to both the circumſtances by which friendſhip be- tween ſtates is violated; but principally to the attack made on the dominions of Ptolemy, an ally of the Romans, who deſire him to be reinſtated by An- tiochus in his poſſeſſions; for the author immediately adds, that when Antiochus refuſed to comply, war was denounced againſt him.

6. In Juſtin, lib. xxxi. c. 1. we read, "The ſenate,

" therefore, wrote to Flamininus, that if it ſeemed " expedient to him, as he had delivered Macedon " from Philip, ſo he ſhould deliver Greece from " Nabis." The glory of Flamininus, the general in the Macedonian war, is ſufficiently atteſted by the words of the ſenate's decree, in Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. 32. " The ſenate and Roman people, and L. Quintius " the general, having conquered king Philip and " the Macedonians, declare free and independent " republics, the Corinthians," &c. Florus, lib. ii. c. 12. ſays, " Perſeus ſucceeded his father Philip, and " did not think it becoming the dignity of Macedon, " that it ſhould remain in ſubjection, in conſequence " of being debeated in one war." You aſk, whether Quintius, who conquered Macedon, can be ſaid, in any ſenſe, to have delivered it from Philip, although it appears that Philip was really not deprived of that kingdom? and whether, if the Roman general conquered Nabis, as he had already conquered Philip, he did not thereby free Greece? Theſe difficulties are ſolved by Juſtin, lib. xxx. c. 4. " The fortune " of the Romans conquered the Macedonians; ſo " that Philip, after his defeat, having obtained " peace from the conſul Flamininus, preſerved indeed " the name of king, but kept poſſeſſion only of " Macedon, having loſt all thoſe cities of Greece, " which, like ſcattered members of the Macedonian " kingdom, lay beyond its ancient boundaries." In the letters, therefore, of the Roman ſenate to the conſul Flamininus, Macedon ſignifies not the country ſtrictly ſo called, which alone was not taken from Philip, but that part of Greece which lay

beyond the original limits of Macedon; to which is oppoſed the reſt of Greece, which was then haraſſed by Nabis, but which had never been ſubject to Macedon. Hence the meaning of the ſenate appears to have been, that Quintius, as he had delivered Macedonia, that is, the part of Greece belonging to Macedon, from Philip, ſo he ſhould deliver the reſt of Greece from Nabis, who had actually made himſelf maſter nearly of the whole of that country.

This is not merely a conjecture ſage,
But truth as certain as the Sibyl's page.

November 17, 1756.

THOSE who apply themſelves to criticiſm ought to be cautious in conjectural emendation, and diligent in claſſical ſtudy, that they may perceive what vaſt application this critical art requires, and how raſhly thoſe behave, who immediately alter a paſſage which they do not at firſt ſight underſtand, or which ſeems to them inconſiſtent with their rules of grammar or logic. This raſhneſs is juſtly reprehended by many, and particularly by the illuſtrious Burman, in his valuable preface to Phædrus; which, as I have always made it the rule by which my own critical labors have been directed, ſo I would warmly recommend it to all thoſe who purſue the ſame walk of literature. Having made this preparatory obſervation, I proceed to the difficulties in Juſtin, about which ſo much learning has been employed.

1. The emendation of the manifeſtly corrupt

paſſage in lib. ii. c. 3. § 18. (a corruption depending on numbers, and therefore as natural as frequent,) which corrects the error by changing fifteen hundred into fifteen, muſt be approved by all judicious critics. The cauſe which introduced the faulty reading into the text is uncertain; and the queſtion that has been ſo induſtriouſly agitated concerning it, appears to me more curious than uſeful, ſince the error might have originated in a thouſand different ſources. The corrupt reading runs thus: "Aſia was tributary to "the Scythians fifteen hundred years." We agree that it ſhould be corrected thus: "Aſia was tributary "to the Scythians fifteen years." But in the corrupt text you think that obſcure traces of the genuine reading may be diſcerned, and imagine that *per mille* had crept into the text, inſtead of *permiſſa*; explaining the paſſage as if "Aſia had been permitted to be "tributary to the Scythians for fifteen years." I obſerved that this emendation, for which I ſee no any neceſſity, is rendered highly improbable, becauſe in ancient manuſcripts the names of numbers are expreſſed, not by words, but by letters uſed as numeral marks; and though they are ſometimes expreſſed by words, yet this is not frequent, eſpecially in works of hiſtory. This aſſertion is confirmed by innumerable teſtimonies; I ſhall be contented with referring to that of Galen de Antidot. I. — It is a ſubject indeed both of ſurpriſe and grief, that this part of criticiſm, which conſiſts in aſcertaining exactly the rules of numeral notation, ſhould not have met with due attention; although thereby the raſhneſs of wild conjecture would be greatly reſtrained, and

more certainty might be attained in determining the age and authenticity of manuſcripts. But let it be ſuppoſed that your correction were ſafe on this ſide, yet it would be deſtroyed by the paſſage which you yourſelf quote from Juſtin; "That Seſoſtris being put to flight by the Scythians, left behind him his army and baggage." The hiſtorian having obſerved, in § 15, that the Scythians, after returning from the purſuit of the king, rendered Aſia, which they had ſubdued, tributary; how is it poſſible that, § 18, he ſhould ſay that this happened not in conſequence of their own military ſucceſs, but in conſequence of the permiſſion of Seſoſtris? We are not now inquiring what is hiſtorically true, but what Juſtin's report; which muſt not be ſuppoſed inconſtent with itſelf.

2. If we here conſult Arrian, he tells us merely hat "Alexander proceeded to the river Hyphaſis, with a view to conquer the Indians who lived beyond it; but that the Macedonians, then perceiving there was no end to their labors, refuſed to advance; and finally prevailed on Alexander, through the earneſt intreaty of Cœnus, to prepare for his return; ſince every thing ſeemed adverſe to his farther progreſs. Then Alexander erected twelve great altars, as monuments of his conqueſts." rrian ſays nothing about the Cuphites, the camp, the two hundred thouſand horſemen; who ſo uch terrified the Macedonians. Curtius lib. ix. c. 2 d 3. relates, "that Alexander, when he came to the Hyphaſis, diſcovered that the farther bank was inhabited by the Gangaridæ and Pharraſii;

" that their king, with twenty thouſand horſe and
" two hundred thouſand foot, meant to obſtruct his
" paſſage; being furniſhed beſides with two thou-
" ſand chariots and three thouſand elephants; which
" laſt-formed the moſt alarming part of his ſtrength.
" The Macedonians then refuſed to follow the king
" farther; and obtained, through Cœnus' entreaty,
" that preparations ſhould be made for their return
" home." He ſubjoins: " Alexander came forth on
" the third day, and ordered twelve altars of ſquare
" ſtone to be erected as a monument of his expe-
" dition, and the fortifications of his camp to be
" enlarged, and beds of a gigantic ſize to be con-
" ſtructed, that by diffuſing an air of vaſtneſs on
" every object around him, he might excite the
" credulous wonder of poſterity." Plutarch, in
his treatiſe concerning the fortune of Alexander,
ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe. By comparing theſe
authors with Juſtin, the reader will perceive that he
differs from them all in ſeveral eſſential circumſtances;
and particularly in ſaying that Alexander had two
motives for enlarging the fortifications of his camp;
one of which regarded the enemy, and the other
had a relation to poſterity. "Moved by ſuch ju
" prayers, he ordered a camp to be built more magni
" ficent than uſual, as at the end of his victory; tha
" its fortifications might be an object of terror to th
" enemy, and of admiration to poſterity." Juſtin
ibid. § 16. The other hiſtorians are totally ſilent a
to what regards the enemy; which is favorable t
that reading of Juſtin which on the faith of many
ſcripts ſtands in his text, and extremely adverſe t

your emendation. For "the end of his victory" must refer to some recent victory, and not to his victories in general; otherwise Justin, as you acknowledge, would have said, "the end of his victories," as in § 10. above, "wearied, not less by the number "of his victories, than by his toils." As to Alexander's second motive, concerning which all other historians are silent, "that his fortifications might be "an object of terror to the enemy;" there would not surely be any room for it, on the supposition that he had determined to move his camp, and leave the country, without fighting a battle. The Cuphites could not be seized with alarm at seeing the monuments of the exploits of a man who had not ventured to engage with their army; nor, on that supposition, would there be any mention of victory, terror, or sacrifices of thanks; for that the word *gratulatio* refers to the solemn victims sacrificed in gratitude for success, and frequently mentioned by Arrian, cannot be doubtful to those conversant with ancient writers. Besides, the word *omissis* including the idea of something begun or neglected, does not please me, nor seem conformable with Justin's style. Your prolix discussion concerning the age, design, and character of Orosius has but little connexion with the present subject. It is universally acknowledged, that he so closely, or rather superstitiously, follows Justin's footsteps, that he frequently expresses himself in the same words and phrases; and it has long ago been proved by good critics, that Justin's text, such as it stood in the copy used by Orosius, may in innumerable places be restored by an attention to the

latter writer. He must be blind indeed, who does not perceive that in the passage before us Orosius must have copied Justin. Whence could he otherwise have derived the name *Chosidum*, or *Cuphitum*, which is not mentioned by any other historian? and if that be the case, Orosius must have found in his original, not that "the enemy were omitted," but that "they were beat;" in which sense Justin ought to be interpreted.

4. I grant that a town taken by a siege cannot be said to be defended by its own walls. But may it not be defended by troops in the citadel? When the enemy are obliged to raise the siege of the citadel, the town may thereby be delivered from all danger. The expression, at least, might be used by an author fond of antithesis and amplification.

5. Your new conjecture concerning the towns of Syria which the Romans acquired by the law of war, would solve the difficulty, were not that conjecture built on an anachronism. For the league entered into with the ambassadors of Antiochus, who came to crave peace, which you find in Livy, lib. xxxviii. c. 37. was not prior, but subsequent, to Antiochus's expedition into Egypt, mentioned in Justin, lib. xxxi. c. 1. You may consider whether the following words of Livy do not refer to this subject: "After this, "Quintius and his ten lieutenants received the am- "bassadors of kings, nations, and cities. Those "of king Antiochus were first introduced. They "said the same things as formerly, when at Rome, "without gaining belief; and they were now told, "not in the ambiguous language which the Romans

"had uſed before the defeat of Philip, and while "their own fortune was ſtill doubtful, but in expreſs "terms, that Antiochus muſt evacuate all the cities "of Aſia, which had belonged either to Philip or "to Ptolemy." Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. 34 ; with which compare c. 39 and 40. Be ſatisfied with this authority. Farewel and proſper.

ZURICH, 14th November.

N° V.

Mr. BREITINGER *to Mr.* GIBBON.

ALTHOUGH I had long dedicated myſelf, and had purpoſed to ſpend my life in more ſevere and ſacred ſtudies, yet it is not without pleaſure that, at the invitation of my friends, I occaſionally deſcend into the pleaſing fields of literature; never loſing an opportunity to ſtimulate the diligence of thoſe who delight in ſuch purſuits, and to ſerve as a whetſtone to others, though myſelf unfit for carving. Nothing, therefore, could have been more agreeable to my wiſh, than to be called back to thoſe ſtudies, formerly my delight, by you; anonymouſly at firſt, but now in open war. I cannot but commend your ſagacity and genius, which require rather the rein than the ſpur; and I earneſtly wiſh that you were accompanied in this literary walk by a ſcholar of more cultivated taſte, and more copious erudition, than myſelf.

You employ many arguments in defending your emendation of Juſtin, lib. xii. 8. § 17; where, inſtead of "the enemy being beat." you ſubſtitute "the

" enemy being omitted." I formerly gave you my reaſons for rejecting this emendation, and ſhall not repeat them here, nor enter into a particular diſcuſſion of the anſwers which you make to my objections. Thus much only in general I will obſerve, that the reading in the text, which is approved by the conſenting authority of the manuſcripts, muſt be acknowledged to contain a very natural meaning, conveyed in good Latin, and in Juſtin's ſtyle. This reading, indeed, makes mention of a battle with the Cuphites, concerning which the other hiſtorians of Alexander are ſilent. But ought this ſilence to make us alter Juſtin's text, eſpecially as none of thoſe hiſtorians deny ſuch a battle to have happened? If ſuch licence be indulged to critics, that they may expunge or alter the words of a hiſtorian, becauſe he is the ſole relater of a particular event, we ſhall leave few materials for authentic hiſtory. Two reaſons ſtrongly militate againſt your correction: the firſt, that it if be admitted, there will no longer be any conſiſtency in Juſtin's narrative; and the whole clauſe muſt be expunged which mentions the return of the Macedonians into their camp; which, if they did not mean to fight, it was not neceſſary for them to leave. The ſecond reaſon is, that the phraſe *omittere hoſtes*, though frequently uſed by Juſtin, is never, that I know, applied by him in the ſenſe which you give to it. The generals entitled to direct military meaſures are ſaid *omittere hoſtes*; but never the ſoldiers, whoſe duty it is to obey orders; and who, in the paſſage under conſideration, requeſt that they may not be ordered to renew the engage-

ment with the enemy. To this may be added, that wherever this phraſe, *omiſſis hoſtibus*, occurs in Juſtin, it denotes not an end, but only a change, of the war. Turn to the paſſage which you formerly referred to, lib. xxvii. c. 3. § 6. "They left off fighting againſt their foreign enemy, and made war "on each other;" to which you will find a parallel in lib. xxix. c. 2. § 7. "By this oration he prevailed "with Philip to leave off fighting againſt the "Etolians, and to make war on the Romans." But it is ſufficient that Oroſius read *cæſis hoſtibus* in the copies of Juſtin which he made uſe of. If, by ſaying *omiſſis hoſtibus*, Oroſius confirmed your conjecture, the reading in the text would be doubtful indeed.

I have nothing farther to add to my obſervations concerning the cities of Syria which the Romans acquired by the right of war.

That we may not harp on the old ſtring, but have new matter for our friendly conteſt, you raiſe a difficulty concerning the firſt conſulſhip of Julius Cæſar; which happened on the firſt of January, in the ſix hundred and ninety-fifth year of Rome, and in the forty-firſt of his age; although by the laws aſcertaining the age of candidates, no perſon was entitled to crave that honor before his forty-third year. But this law, which was propoſed by Villius, appears not, any more than other laws appertaining to the ſame object, to have been of perpetual authority; as we learn, both from the Roman hiſtorians and from the conſular Faſti. Livy, lib. viii. c. 4. ſays, that in the conſulſhip of C. Marius Rutilus and Q Servilius Ahala, it was provided by a law of the

people, that no perſon ſhould bear the ſame magiſtracy twice in the ſpace of ten years. But this law ſeems either not to have been confirmed, or not to have remained in force: for we afterwards find both in the Faſti and in Livy, that T. Manlius Torquatus was a ſecond time conſul in the ſpace of four years; M. Valerius Corvus, in eight; and L. Papirius Craſſus, in ſix: L. Papirius Curſor was four times conſul in eight years: which things are inconſiſtent with this law. To this ſubject may be referred what Dio Caſſius ſays concerning another law of the ſame kind, in his fortieth book, ſect. 56. "Pompey reſtored the law of the Comitia, "which prohibited any perſon from being elected into any office of magiſtracy in his abſence; a law "which had fallen into total diſuſe; and confirmed "another, which had been a ſhort time before enacted "by the ſenate, forbidding any man who had been a "magiſtrate in the city to command in any foreign "province before the expiration of five years. Yet "Pompey, who had juſt paſt theſe laws, was not "aſhamed to accept his command in Spain for five "longer; years and to grant, by the ſame decree, to "Cæſar (whoſe friends impatiently brooked ſuch "regulations) the permiſſion of being candidate for "the conſulſhip in his abſence," &c. That the law propoſed by Villius was not uniformly obſerved, appears from Cicero's oration againſt Rullus: where the orator boaſts that he was the firſt man, not graced by ancient nobility, who had obtained the conſulſhip in the year that he was entitled to ſolicit it: but this paſſage does not inform us what was the force of Villius's law, when the candidates were patricians of

ancient family, or men of consular dignity. Dolabella certainly, after Cæsar's murder, seized the consulship, when only twenty-five years old, as we are informed by Appian: on which subject Dio Cassius, lib. xliv. § 22. says, that Dolabella intruded himself into the consulship, though in nowise belonging to him; and Suetone insinuates, that Julius obtained something to which he was not by law entitled. "As the Comitia were already proclaimed, his demand could not be attended to, "unless he entered the city as a private person; "and many opposing his being indulged with any "favor to which he was not legally entitled, he "chose to postpone his claim to a triumph, lest he "should be excluded from the consulship." Sueton. lib. 1. c. 18. Nearly to the same purpose Anthony, in Cæsar's funeral oration, in the forty-fourth book of Dio Cassius, says, "For this reason, (his success in Spain,) you granted to him a triumph, and "immediately appointed him consul. In the urgency "of his affairs he postponed his triumph; and accepting the consulship, thanked you for that honor, "which he thought sufficient for his own glory." It is therefore plain, that by deferring his claim to a triumph, he obtained the consulship, though a year younger than the age required for holding that office. Had the Romans intended to enforce against him the Villian law, there would not have been any reason to with-hold from him the honor of a triumph.

I should willingly admit your remarks, though written in French, on Salchlini's little work, into the *Museum Helveticum*, were not that publica-

tion interrupted at preſent; and it is uncertain when the printer will be allowed, or will have inclination, to publiſh a new volume.

Farewel, my noble Sir, and proſper; and love me as a man devoted to every kind duty.

BREITINGER.

ZURICH, March 1, 1757.

No VI.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* GESNER.

SIR,

AMONG the Romans, that generous people, who had ſo many inſtitutions worthy of being admired and imitated, the moſt reſpectable old lawyers, whoſe long labors had rendered them the oracles of the bar, did not think their time uſeleſs to the community, when it was employed in forming the talents of youth, and in providing for themſelves worthy ſucceſſors. This excellent cuſtom ought to be adopted, and extended to other ſciences. Whoever is acquainted with your reputation and your works, will not deny you the title of one of the moſt learned men of the age; and I hope that my fooliſh preſumption does not deceive me, when I aſcribe to myſelf ſome natural aptitude for ſucceeding in the purſuits of literature. Your correſpondence would be highly uſeful to me. On this ground only I requeſt it. In the hope that it will not be refuſed, I proceed to beg your explanation of ſome difficulties that I have met with, and your opinion of ſome conjectures that have occurred to my mind.

1. Who was that Piſo, the father, to whom Horace addreſſes his Art of Poetry? Mr. Dacier ſuppoſes him to have been the high-prieſt who obtained a triumph for his exploits in Thrace, and who died præfect of the city in the ſeven hundred and eighty-fifth year of Rome [1]. But that could not be the man; for Horace's Art of Poetry was written before the year ſeven hundred and thirty-four, ſince it makes mention of Virgil (who died that year) in terms which ſhow that he was ſtill alive [2]: and in another part of the poem [3], Horace addreſſes the eldeſt of Piſo's ſons, as a young man of cultivated talents: which implies that he was not leſs than eighteen or twenty years of age. But L. Piſo, the high-prieſt, could not ſurely have a ſon ſo old. He himſelf died at the age of fourſcore [4], in the ſeven hundred and eighty-fifth year of Rome. He was born, then, in ſeven hundred and five; and was not above thirty when the Art of Poetry was written. It is clear therefore, that he is not the perſon to whom Horace writes: but, among the number of other men who bore that name, I wiſh that you would help me to diſcover the Piſo to whom that poem was moſt probably addreſſed.

2. You know how much trouble it has coſt the critics to find out Horace's true deſign in the third ode of his third book. This maſterly performance is diſtinguiſhed by greatneſs of thought and dignity of expreſſion; but we are ſurpriſed and grieved to find, that the end does not correſpond with the beginning; and that Juno's ſpeech is totally unconnected with what precedes or follows it; ſo that after admiring the detached parts of this ode, we are forced to condemn

it as a whole. Taneguy le Fevre explained it by a conjecture, which Dacier thinks deserving of as high encomiums as the ode itself; and which is, doubtless, very ingenious. You know that his explanation turns on the supposed dread of the Romans, lest the seat of their empire should be removed to Troy; and that he fancies the ode to have been written with a view to divert Augustus from such a design, by showing him how earnestly the Gods had co-operated towards the destruction of Troy, and how much their resentment would be provoked by an attempt to rebuild that ill-fated city. The people might the more naturally suspect Augustus of such an intention, because it was thought to have been entertained by his adoptive father [5]. But this conjecture, I fear, will not bear examination. It is impossible to prove those pretended fears of the Romans; which are rendered highly improbable, when we consider that Augustus was remarkable for his affectionate patiality towards Rome; as may be seen in his Life, by Suetonius c. 28, 29, 30. I shall mention but two examples of it. He encouraged almost all the great men of Rome to adorn the city by superb edifices [6]; and himself erected a temple to Mars the Avenger, where the senate was ordered to assemble during its deliberations concerning wars and triumphs [7]. These are not the actions of a man who wished to found a new capital. The example of his uncle is not applicable, that project was formed by him towards the end of his life, when he was intoxicated by prosperity, and engaged in a thousand wild enterprises, which the prudence of Augustus carefully

carefully avoided. The cautious firmneſs with which the latter prince always refuſed the office of dictator, confirms my remark[8]. Such are the reaſons which hinder me from acquieſcing in Le Fevre's explanation. I am ſorry for it, and will not be eaſy till you ſupply me with another more ſolidly, founded, and equally well fitted to remove all difficulties.

3. Antiochus, king of Syria, had taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral cities in Cœle-Syria and Judæa, belonging to young Ptolemy, then under the protection of the Romans. That people undertake the defence of their pupil, and order Antiochus to reſtore his towns. He deſpiſes their orders, and keeps thoſe towns in his poſſeſſion; in conſequence of which, the Romans ſend to him a ſecond embaſſy, which, without making any mention of young Ptolemy's pretenſions, "claim "thoſe towns as belonging to the Romans by the "right of war." Theſe are Juſtin's words[9], which preſent us with a very perplexing difficulty; becauſe we do not perceive how the Romans could have acquired thoſe places by the right of war, ſince they were ſo far from having made conqueſts in Aſia then, that they did not carry their arms into that country till a later æra. A treaty indeed ſubſiſted between them and the kings of Egypt[10], but it was a treaty merely of friendſhip and alliance, neither preceded nor followed by any war. I thought that an examination of the other hiſtorians, who relate the ſame tranſactions, might throw light on this obſcure paſſage of Juſtin. But Livy, who mentions ſeveral times[11] the negociations by which the Romans

endeavoured to recover for Ptolemy the places taken from him by Antiochus, is altogether silent with regard to this "right of war," in virtue of which they were demanded. I acquainted the learned Mr. Breitinger, professor of Greek at Zurich, with my difficulty on this subject; which, after attempting in vain to resolve, he was obliged to leave unexplained. But,

Nil desperandum, Teucro duce; & auspice Teucro.

4. A difference of opinion between Scaliger and Isaac Vossius, concerning the time of Catullus' death, made great noise in the republic of letters. I have not at hand the original arguments of those learned men, which are contained in their respective editions of Catullus; but Bayle [11] has given us a particular account of their dispute, with his own reflections on the subject. I am sorry that I cannot draw from the fountain-head; but Bayle's accuracy as a compiler will not be disputed.

Notwithstanding the labors of these great scholars, I am far from thinking the question decided. Vossius seems to me to place Catullus' death too early, and Scaliger certainly fixes it at too late an æra. That poet surely did not die in the year of the city five hundred and ninety-six; but neither did he live to see the secular games of Augustus celebrated in seven hundred and thirty-six. Let us prove these assertions and endeavour to find out the true æra in question, which must have been at an intermediate time between the years just mentioned.

Catullus ſpeaks of Great Britain and its inhabitants [15], with which Cæſar firſt made the Romans acquainted [16], by his expedition thither, in the year of Rome ſix hundred and ninety-eight [17]. Catullus alſo mentions the ſecond conſulſhip of Pompey, which happened on that ſame year [18]. He lived ſo late as the year ſeven hundred and ſix, ſince he ſpeaks of the conſulſhip of Vatinius [19]. I will not make uſe of Scaliger's arguments to prove that the poet witneſſed Cæſar's triumphs, becauſe I do not believe them well-founded. I will not particularly examine whether the words *paterna prima lancinata ſunt bona* [20]," beſt apply to the firſt or laſt victories of Cæſar, becauſe I do not believe them to have any reference to the one or the other. We need only to read the epigram attentively, to perceive that Catullus always addreſſes Cæſar in the ſecond perſon; and Mamurra in the third.

The poet alludes, therefore, not to Cæſar's diſſipation, but to that of Mamurra; and all the conſequences deduced from his applying his words to the former, are built on a falſe hypotheſis [21].

Catullus, on the other hand, did not live to ſee the ſecular games celebrated by Auguſtus, ſince he died before Tibullus. Ovid, in an elegy written on the death of the latter, places Catullus among the poets whom his friend will meet with in the Elyſian fields [22].

But when did Tibullus die? A little epigram of Domitius Marſus informs us, that he died the ſame day, or at leaſt in the ſame year, with Virgil [23]. Now it is well known that Virgil died the twenty-ſecond of

September ſeven hundred and thirty-four[22]. Catullus then could not ſee the ſecular games, which were not celebrated till ſeven hundred and thirty-ſix.

We may go farther, and affirm, that Catullus was dead before the year ſeven hundred and twenty-one. This is proved by a contemporary hiſtorian, the friend of Cicero[23] and of Catullus[24]; I mean Cornelius Nepos. In his Life of Atticus, ſpeaking of a certain Julius Calidius, to whom Atticus had rendered very important ſervices, he diſtinguiſhed him, "as the moſt elegant poet of that age, ſince the death "of Lucretius and Catullus[25]." The latter, therefore, was dead before Nepos wrote this paſſage; of which it is not difficult to fix the date. Nepos' Life of Atticus conſiſts of twenty-two chapters; the firſt eighteen of which were, as he tells us, wtitten while the ſubject of them ſtill lived[26]. The paſſage mentioning the death of Catullus is in the twelfth chapter; from whence it follows, that Atticus ſurvived Catullus. But Atticus died during the conſulſhip of Cn. Domitius and C. Soſius[27]. Did we wiſh to aſcertain ſtill more accurately the preciſe year of Catullus' death, we ſhould not be much miſtaken in fixing it at the middle term between the year of Rome ſeven hundred and ſix, and ſeven hundred and twenty-one; which will give us the year ſeven hundred and fourteen; which very well agrees with all other particulars known concerning him.

The only argument adduced by Scaliger, that can occaſion any difficulty, is, that Catullus compoſed a ſecular poem. Voſſius' conjecture, that the ſecular games were celebrated at the commencement of the

ſeventh century of Rome, is altogether unwarranted: that of Bayle, I fear, reſts not on much better authority. The beginning of that century was deformed by ſo many diſorders, and by ſuch neglect of ancient ceremonies [28], that there is not any probability that ſuch games ſhould then have been either exhibited or expected. But it is not neceſſary to ſuppoſe that Catullus' poem was written for the ſecular games. It might have been intended merely for Diana's feſtival, which was celebrated yearly in the month of Auguſt; as Bentley conjectured [29]. This is confirmed by comparing this poem with Horace's *Carmen Seculare*. In the former, both the boys and girls form but one chorus, which addreſſes itſelf to Diana [30]. In Horace, the boys addreſs themſelves to Apollo, and the girls to Diana [31]. This diſtinction had been eſtabliſhed by the oracle who commanded the celebration of the games [32].

But I have done. This is enough for one letter. Your time is precious, and I would not offend you by carrying too far the liberty I have taken in writing to you. I have the honor to be, with much conſideration,

Yours, &c.
EDWARD GIBBON.

N° VII.

Mr. GESNER *to Mr.* GIBBON.

1. YOU inquire who were the Piſos, of whom Horace ſpeaks in ſuch honorable terms in his Art of Poetry. Dacier and Sanadon would probably, moſt

learned Sir, have obtained more credit with you, had they cited the authority on which their opinion reſts; and independently of which, it ſeems no better than a gueſs, which a ſlight argument is ſufficient to overturn. This authority is that of Porphyrio, an ancient writer, who treats of the names mentioned in Horace, and who here perhaps copies from ſome author more ancient than himſelf. In his corrected edition Porphyrio ſays, "Horace's work, entitled "the Art of Poetry, is addreſſed to L. Piſo, who was "afterwards governor of Rome; for Piſo was "himſelf a poet, and a patron of literary purſuits." But chronology, you ſay, does not warrant this explanation. It does; for Tacitus tells us, in his Annals, (lib. vi. c. 10.) that Piſo died U. C. 785, at the age of eighty. He held his office twenty years; and therefore entered on it U. C. 765; before which period Horace muſt have ſent to him the Art of Poetry, (which I ſuſpect once ſtood at the third epiſtle of the ſecond book,) becauſe Porphyrio ſays, "who "was afterwards governor of Rome." Let us ſuppoſe that Piſo's ſon was born when the father was thirty years old; and that the ſon was ſixteen when Horace addreſſed him, *O major juvenum;* the Art of Poetry will then have been written in the fifty-ſecond year of Horace's age; which well agrees with Bentley's computation; a ſubject which I remember to have examined and approved when about the ſame time of life I publiſhed my edition of Horace. If we think ſixteen years too young for the praiſes beſtowed by the poet, we may add to them five, or even ten years more. But to this mode of reckoning it is objected

that Virgil was alive when Horace wrote his Art of Poetry; and as the latter died in the year of Rome ſeven hundred and thirty-five, Piſo, who was then but thirty years old himſelf, could not have a ſon above ten or twelve at the utmoſt. But ſome cities do not diſapprove of the application of *juvenis* to a boy of ten years, and of a forward genius: Grotius and others were poets at that age; and the Roman courtiers would naturally, I think, be prodigal in uſing the term *juvenis*, after Cicero gave ſo much offence by applying the term *puer* to Auguſtus.

But I ſee not any convincing argument to prove that Virgil was alive when the Art of Poetry was written. For, in the paſſage alluded to, Horace does not contraſt living poets with thoſe that were dead, but ancient poets with the modern; and, according to the critics whom he mentions, not death alone, but the being dead a certain number of years, was neceſſary for the attainment of poetical fame.

"*Eſt vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.*"
See the firſt epiſtle of the ſecond book.

2. Concerning the third ode of the third book, I formerly gave my opinion in the obſervations accompanying my edition, which, as you have not ſeen them, I ſhall here repeat and explain. Auguſtus ſometimes repreſented in ſport the ſuppers of the gods. We know from Suetone, lib. ii. c. 70. that he was blamed for his imitation of the ſupper of the twelve gods, which uſed to take place in the capitol, where pallets were ſpread for them; of which

we see an example in Livy, lib. xxii. c. 10. Is it not possible that Horace, either with or without the orders of Augustus, might think proper to write verses adapted to such a representation? Might he not endeavour to remove the blame attached to it, by exhibiting an example in which it was not only innocent, but conformable with the institutions and inclinations of the Romans? At the same time his ode would be a compliment to the Julian family, which had long boasted its descent from Æneas and Iülus. For entering on this subject, the poet ingeniously prepares the way, by showing that men had attained divinity through justice and fortitude. Augustus is entitled to our admiration and praise; and, as he sung in another ode, written nearly about the same time, *presens divus habebitur*, being not less worthy of divinity than Bacchus and Romulus; the latter of whom was not without difficulty admitted to that honor, "till Juno made her "most pleasing and acceptable speech in the council of the gods." This speech is of the same purport with that in the Æneid, lib. xii. v. 791. *& seq.*; and might have been pronounced with propriety, without supposing that Augustus ever seriously thought of changing the seat of his empire. That prince also must have been pleased with an attempt to persuade the people that he condemned a design, said to have been entertained by Julius Cæsar, but which was so much detested by the Romans, and would, if carried into execution, have been so calamitous to Rome. The speech indeed is longer, and more pathetic than might be expected from the beginning of the ode;

but *he* must be ignorant of the nature of lyric poetry, as illustrated in the writings of the ancients, who finds fault with the length of this real or apparent digression.

3. The knot must be hard indeed, which not only baffles the exertions of a learned and ingenious youth, but resists the strength of Breitinger, a veteran in the literary field, whose name I never pronounce but with the highest respect. How could Roman ambassadors require that the cities taken by Antiochus in Asia should be restored, according to the law of war, to Rome, when the senate shortly before had declared those cities to belong to its pupil Ptolemy? Or how could the Romans claim those cities by the law of war, when Scipio, a few years afterwards, was the first Roman general that passed into Asia with an army? Livy, lib. xxxvii. The knot, however, may be untied, without having recourse to Alexander's sword, provided we follow the series of those transactions, as related by Justin and Livy. The latter historian, lib. xxxi. c. 14. relates, "that Philip's courage was increased by his league with Antiochus, king of Syria, with whom, as soon as he learned Ptolemy's death, he purposed, according to the tenor of that agreement, dividing the spoils of Egypt." Justin, again, lib. xxx. c. 2. tells us, "that the Alexandrians sent ambassadors to Rome, requesting the senate to defend the cause of their pupil, threatened with the partition of his dominions, in consequence of a treaty for that purpose between Philip and Antiochus." This treaty indeed soon began to be

carried into effect; for, according to Livy, lib. xxxii. c. 19. "Antiochus, while his ally was occupied in "the war with Rome, conquered all the cities "belonging to Ptolemy in Cœle-Syria, purposing "next to invade the coast of Caria and Cilicia, and "at the same time to assist Philip with a fleet and "army." Meanwhile Philip is conquered by the Roman consul Quintius; who then openly declared to Antiochus' ambassadors, "that their master must "evacuate (supply, 'according to the law of war,') "all those cities to which either Philip or Ptolemy "had any claims." Livy, lib. xxxiii c. 34. Justin's narrative, therefore, though obscured by brevity, is yet consistent with truth.

Do you not repent, learned Sir, the having written to an indolent old man, who could delay two months sending an answer to a letter so obliging, and so honorable to himself? I will not throw the blame on my advanced age, though I begin to feel my former powers of exertion somewhat slacken and abate under the weight of sixty-seven years. At this time of life most old men are indulged with a diminution of labor; whereas I, on the contrary, am continually burdened with an increase of occupations and cares. I belong to several academies, particularly that of Berlin, and this here of Gottingen; which last I am appointed to direct six months in the year; I also preside weekly in the German society of this place, and frequently correspond with the Latin society of Jena. I am intrusted with the care of the public library, consisting at least of fifty thousand volumes; with the inspection of the colleges in his

majesty's German dominions; and with the superintendance of about twenty youths, who are educated at the public expense. The task also falls on me of writing whatever is inserted in the archives of the university, in the name of the rector and senate: and it is my duty to give daily three, four, and sometimes more prelections. To these public offices must be added the avocations of private company, and of a very extensive correspondence. Besides, I have always some work in hand, which requires nicer attention to render it worthy of the public eye. At present I am employed about an edition of Claudian; which, God willing! shall be published in the course of this summer. Thus circumstanced, I confess that I laid aside your letter, which seemed as if it would require more pains to answer than were afterwards found necessary, until I should enjoy a few hours of uninterrupted leisure. This opportunity occurred only yesterday, of which, you see, I made use.

It remains that I request you to receive favorably this attempt; and if it does not fully answer your expectation, to ascribe the failure to any other cause rather than my want of inclination to oblige you. Brevity was my aim, because it seemed unnecessary to repeat what you had so well said on the subject. I write in Latin, a language familiar to me, lest I should commit a mistake similar to that of which you, though well-skilled in French, are guilty, when you say, *Un différent que Scaliger & Is. Vossius ont eu ensemble.*" From which words it might be concluded, that a difference had subsisted between these learned men, of whom the one died nine years before the

other was born. I remain ſincerely, with much conſideration, &c.

MATTHEW GESNER.

GOTTINGEN, 12th February 1758.

4. As to the queſtion concerning the age of Catullus, I am entirely of your opinion; and leſt you ſhould think that I agree with you, merely becauſe, through lazineſs, I am unwilling to enter into an argument, I ſhall tranſcribe the words of a theſis, which I defended in my youth, forty years ago, (p. 43. Weimar, 1717,) concerning the ſecular years and games of the Romans. "There is nothing "in the poem which might not have been ſaid, had "it been written for any other feſtival in honor of "Diana," &c. I aſſure you, that within this hour I have compared what is ſaid in your learned diſſertation, with Iſ. Voſſius' remarks on Catullus, (edit. 1684, 4to. p. 81, *& ſeq.*) and thoſe of Joſ. Scaliger, whom he refutes. I alſo examined the paſſage of Cicero concerning Mamurra, with Middleton's obſervations on it; and having examined and well weighed the whole matter, I pronounce ſentence, moſt excellent Gibbon, clearly in your favor.

P. S. Your letters will find me without any farther direction than that of my name and place of abode, or addreſſed to Mr. Profeſſor Geſner, counſellor of the Court of his Britannic Majeſty, Gottingen. But if you wiſh to ſee my title

expanded at full length after the German fashion, here they are, copied from the French and German "Title-book," printed at Nordhausen, 1752, 8vo. fifth edition, p. 164. "To Mr. "Gesner, Counsellor of the Court of his Britan- "nic Majesty, Professor in the University of "Gottingen, Inspector General of the Schools "of the Electorate of Hanover, Librarian of "the University, Director of the Philological "Seminary, President of the Royal Society of "German Eloquence, Member of the Royal "Society of Sciences at Gottingen," &c. There is not one of these titles but deprives me of some part of my time; the only reason for which I here subjoin them; which I shall think you believe, if your letter to me has as short a direction as possible.

N° VIII.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* GESNER.

SIR,

THE multitude of your employments affords at once the proof of your own merit, of the justice done to it by the public, of my presumption, and of your goodness. How enviable is the lot of that small number of superior minds whose talents are equally adapted to promote the purposes either of pleasure or utility? The discernment surely of those princes is worthy of much applause, who, having ventured to dissipate the clouds of envy, calumny, and frivolity, that usually surround thrones, render to the truly

great men among their ſubjects a juſtice which had been long done to them by the impartial public, and reward their talents, by affording them new opportunities to diſplay them. Theſe are but a ſmall part of the reflections occaſioned by your letter, and which, were I to conſult my inclination only, would extend to a great length; but my reaſon tells me, that I muſt be contented which aſſuring you, that you have filled with gratitude a man who will always be proud of being called your ſcholar. I go ſhortly to England; where, perhaps, I may find an opportunity of proving to you the ſincerity of my ſentiments, at leaſt of rendering my correſpondence leſs tireſome. My reſidence in London will give me a ſort of local merit. I will ſend you early intelligence of the labor and diſcoveries of our learned men, whoſe example I am unable to imitate; and will expect to learn, in return, what is ſo proper an object of curioſity, the occupations and ſtudies of your colleagues and diſciples at Gottingen. At my return to London I propoſe to myſelf a new pleaſure in collecting all your works, which I will make it my firſt buſineſs to procure; and for aſſiſting me in this matter, muſt requeſt that you would give me the titles of all the curious pieces with which you have enriched the republic of letters. My ignorance of many of them cauſes both joy and ſhame. It can only be excuſed in conſideration of my youth, and the place from which this letter is dated.

If I venture to propoſe ſome new doubts, it is becauſe you know better than any one, that abſolute ſubmiſſion is due only to reaſon, either real or apparent. You will believe that my only motive for

iſcuſſing your leſſons is to render myſelf worthy of hem:

Non ita certandi cupidus, quam propter amorem".

After this apology, I muſt confeſs that I have ſtill ome remaining doubts concerning the Piſo to whom Horace addreſſes his Art of Poetry. You think that he manner in which that poet ſpeaks of Virgil does ot prove the latter to be ſtill alive; becauſe Horace oes not oppoſe the dead to the living, but the ncients to the moderns. I examined the paſſage again, nd that new peruſal excited reflections which con-rmed me more ſtrongly in my former opinion. Horace thought the Latin tongue too poor and arren, and deficient in words expreſſive of abſtract leas, which were unknown to Romulus' com-anions, conſiſting of ſhepherds and robbers. This nperfection had been remarked by others. Horace, iſhing to remedy it, propoſes to the Virgils and arioſes, to co-operate with him in this deſign, by orrowing from the Greek many energetic terms and hraſes which were wanting in Latin. He does not ſtify a thing already done, but propoſes a new terpriſe. The futurity which he looks to can only ve a reference to authors ſtill alive. The Art of oetry was therefore written before the year of ome ſeven hundred and thirty-five. This explana-n agrees ſo well with the poet's thought, that his poſition between the dead and living poets, ncludes with one of the juſteſt and livelieſt images at I ever remember to have met with:

—— licuit ſemperque licebit
Signatum præſenti notâ producere nomen [11].

The *licuit* has a reference to the Terences and the Ceciliuſes, who were long dead; the *licebit*, in the future, to the Variuſes and Virgils, who were ſtill alive, and might avail themſelves of the maxim [12].

You ſay that Piſo's eldeſt ſon might be ten years old when the Art of Poetry was publiſhed; an age at which Grotius wrote verſes. Grotius did ſo; but how few boys of that age have not only the fire to write, but the judgment to criticiſe poetry? It is not likely that Piſo the father ſhould have children at the age of twenty. You well know the paucity of marriages under Auguſtus, which rendered the conjugal felicity of Germanicus an example ſo much admired [13]. pride, poverty [14], and debauchery, deterred the Roman nobles from marriage, eſpecially amidſt the civil wars, which, during Piſo's youth, deſolated the earth. Auguſtus' laws on that ſubject only prove the greatneſs of the evil [15]; and Piſo was thirty years old, before the firſt of thoſe laws was enacted [16]. In an ordinary generation is computed at thirty-three years [17], the generations under the firſt emperor ought rather to be extended to forty, than reduced to twenty years. Theſe, I acknowledge, are but probabilities; but in the ſcience of criticiſm probabilities deſtroy poſſibilities, and are themſelves deſtroyed by proofs. This principle is not to be controverted. The authority of Porphyrio is of too little weight among the learned to be the foundation of an argument; it might at beſt help to prop an argument,

rgument, otherwiſe well ſupported. The ancients lo not aſſign to him the firſt rank among Horace's ommentators [10]; and the moderns, particularly Mr. Dacier, find in him many errors. I do not ſee any round for your firſt hypotheſis. If Piſo had a ſon when he has thirty years old, this ſon might be ixteen when Horace wrote his Art of Poetry; an age which you think agrees with every quality required n him. Did you not forget, in writing this ſentence, hat Horace died in ſeven hundred and forty-five when Piſo himſelf was only forty years old?

2. I think it certain that Horace, in the third ode f his third book, meant to ſhow the Romans, that f their prince aſpired to divine honors, *Viamque affectat Olympo*, he well merited them by his exploits, which rivalled thoſe of the greateſt heroes, Bacchus, Hercules, and Romulus, who, after trampling on heir human enemies, and appeaſing the jealouſy of he gods, had opened for themſelves a road to the alace of the immortals. But did the poet alſo intend, y this ode, to reſiſt and deſtroy the clamors of the eople concerning the infamous ſupper of the twelve ods? I think he did not. 1. This deſign does not gree with chronology. Suetonius does not tell us e date of this ſupper; but ſince Mark Antony entioned it, in his letters to Auguſtus [11], it muſt ave happened before the laſt quarrel of the triumvirs. ccording to Bentley [12], whoſe opinion you adopt, orace wrote the third book of his odes in the forty-cond and forty-third years of his age; that is, in e ſeven hundred and twenty-eighth and ſeven

hundred and twenty-ninth years of Rome. An apology for Auguſtus' debaucheries, written ſeven years after they happened, could have only ſerved to revive the memory of enormities, which the policy of that prince and the gratitude of the Romans had long conſigned to oblivion. 2. Auguſtus ſupped with eleven men and women, who, as well as himſelf, were adorned with the emblems of divinities. The poet ſeated Auguſtus at the table of the gods, *purpureo bibit ore nectar*; but can we reaſonably ſuppoſe that he meant to place there the companions of his feaſt? This would have been to render the honor too common; and his panegyric would have degenerated into a ſatire. I agree with you, that it is rather deſirable than neceſſary to diſcover the plan of an ode; the writers of Lyric poetry having always enjoyed the privilege of ſoaring to heights, which if admired by fancy, muſt not be criticiſed by reaſon. This fault, if it be one, is compenſated by great beauties. The two firſt ſtanzas prove the wonderful efficacy of poetry when combined with philoſophy. The *juſtum & tenacem propoſiti virum* is the ſage of the Stoics, their king [42], and only happy man; all whoſe deſigns are juſt, and inflexibly purſued [43]. Such a being, exempt from paſſions and prejudices, never caſts his eyes on the tumults of human life, without exclaiming,

O! curas hominum! O! quantum in rebus inane!

To the diſgrace of mankind, ſuch a character never

exiſted; but it is not a ſmall honor for the ſpecies, that ſuch perfect virtue has been deſcribed and reliſhed. The climax is beautiful. The ſage would reſiſt the clamorous fury of a mad multitude; but this popular rage is often appeaſed as eaſily as it is kindled. He would deſpiſe the threats of a furious tyrant: but the hearts of tyrants ſometimes relent with compaſſion. He would hear, without terror the raging tempeſt, which overpowers the cries of the wretched; but fortune has often reſcued victims from the boiſterous waves. He would not dread the thunder of Jupiter: here the trembling imagination pauſes, fearing leſt the poet ſhould either ſink into meanneſs, or ſwell into bombaſt; becauſe it ſeems impoſſible to conceive a bolder image than the enraged maſter of gods and men. But our fear is converted into admiration, when we read "he would ſuſtain "unterrified the craſhing ſhock of the univerſe, by "which the elements, men, and gods are involved "in one common ruin".[44]" I ſtop here, leſt my reflections ſhould tire you; which, if they do, it muſt be my fault. I ſhall have attained, however, my purpoſe, which was to ſhow the point of view under which I conſider the moſt profound erudition. Regarded as a mean or inſtrument, it merits our higheſt admiration; but conſidered as an ultimate end, it is entitled to nothing but contempt.

3. You remember, Sir, that famous paſſage of Velleius Paterculus[45] which has given ſo much trouble to the learned. It is as follows: * * * * It ſeems unſuſceptible of any meaning, and muſt be

ſuppoſed either defective or corrupt. All the critics, therefore, who have examined it, endeavour to reſtore the text. Burerius, Acidalius, Gruter, Boeclerus, Heinſius, Burman, have, all of them, given conjectures more or leſs probable, which I ſhall not here diſcuſs. I ſhall rather ſubmit an emendation of my own to your judgment. Inſtead of the common reading, I would ſubſtitute *Priſcâ antiquâque ſeveritate*, FUSUS *ancipitia ſibi tam re quam exemplo pernicioſa.* We ſee at once that this ſmall alteration produces a clear and diſtinct ſenſe; and the correction may be proved to be equally conformable to the analogy of the Latin tongue, and agreeable to the truth of hiſtory. The beſt grammarians acknowledge that the Latin, not having a middle voice, admits of a paſſive participle in an active ſignification". Thus, *juratus*, *punitus*, ſometimes denote *qui juravit*, *qui punivit.* We find *peragratus* uſed in this meaning by Velleius himſelf". *Fuſus* may therefore, without impropriety, denote the action of Druſus. Hiſtory alſo favors this correction. According to Tacitus, when Druſus arrived in the camp of the rebels", his orders were diſobeyed, his offers ſuſpected, the ſoldiers made him priſoner, they inſulted his friends, and waited only for a pretence to begin the ſlaughter. Such were the dangers that threatened his perſon! *Sibi ancipitia tam re.* The ſeverity of the Roman diſcipline is well known. The generals were the gods of the ſoldiers, and their orders received as oracles. But ancient maxims were now overturned; and the ſedition of the Pannonian

legion created an example moſt pernicious to poſterity. Superſtition, which does ſo much evil, here did good: an eclipſe of the moon frightened the ſoldiers, and ſaved the life of the general.

I read with much pleaſure your ſolution of the difficulty in Juſtin; and admire your ſkill in extracting a regular narrative, by bringing the ſcattered lights in authors to one focus. If any uncertainty ſtill remains, it muſt be aſcribed to the darkneſs of antiquity and Juſtin's brevity.

Your ſuffrage removes all fear about the ſolidity of my conjecture concerning the death of Catullus. I formerly thought it probable, but begin now to regard it as certain. I have the honor to remain, with the higheſt conſideration and moſt perfect eſteem, yours, &c.

EDWARD GIBBON.

N° IX.

No; my dear friend, I will not be a citizen of the world; I reject with ſcorn that proud title, under which our philoſophers conceal an equal indifference for the whole human race, I will love my country; and to love it above all others, there muſt be reaſons for my preference: but, if I am not miſtaken, my heart is ſuſceptible of affection for more countries than one. Did I ſacrifice all to Sweden, I ſhould only pay my debt of gratitude to the land in which I was born, and to which I owe my life and fortune. Yet life and fortune would have been but melancholy

burdens, if, after my baniſhment from home in early youth, your country had not formed my taſte and reaſon, and taught me more refined morals than our own. I ſhould prove myſelf unworthy of this goodneſs, did it not inſpire me with the livelieſt gratitude: and now that Sweden, enjoying tranquillity under the protection of laws, requires nothing from its ſubjects but a juſt ſenſe of their happineſs, I may direct my attention, without offence, to the Pays de Vaud, my ſecond country; rejoicing with you in its advantages, or commiſerating its misfortunes.

You enjoy a fine climate, a fertile ſoil, and have conveniencies for internal commerce, from which great benefit might be derived. But I conſider the people rather than their territory. Philoſophy flouriſhes in London; Paris is the centre of thoſe attracted by the allurements of poliſhed ſociety. Your country, though inferior to thoſe capitals, yet unites in ſome meaſure their reſpective advantages: ſince it is the only country whoſe inhabitants, while they think freely and boldly, live politely and elegantly. What then is wanting? Liberty; and deprived of it, you have loſt your all.

This truth ſurpriſes and offends you. The right of complaining, you anſwer, that we are not free, is a proof of our liberty. If I wrote at Lauſanne, the argument would have weight; yet even there, it would not be convincing: for your maſters are not ignorant of Cardinal Mazarine's maxim, and are willing to allow you to talk, provided you allow them to act; ſo that the proceſs is not yet determined.

If I wrote for the people I would ſpeak to their paſſions, and hold a language repeated in all ages, that under republics, thoſe who are free are more free, and thoſe who are enſlaved, more enſlaved, than under any other form of government. But with a friend like you I would ſeek only the maxims of truth, and employ only the arguments of reaſon. When I compare your condition with that of ſurrounding nations, I can ſincerely congratulate you on your happineſs. Whenever we quit the neighbourhood of your lake and mountains, we find men who, though worthy of a better fate, are plunged in the moſt abject ſuperſtition; whoſe property and induſtry are the ſpoils of a licentious ſoldiery; and whoſe lives are ready every moment to be ſacrificed to the caprice of one man, who, when he hears that twenty thouſand of his fellow-creatures have fallen ſacrifices to his ambition, is contented with ſaying coldly, "they have done their duty."

You, on the contrary, enjoy a Chriſtianity brought back to the purity of its original principles, taught publicly by worthy miniſters, who are loved and reſpected, but who have it not in their power to become the objects of fear. Your connexion with the Swiſs cantons has preſerved to you the bleſſings of peace two centuries; a thing unexampled in hiſtory. Your taxes are moderate; and the public adminiſtration is gentle. You have not to complain of thoſe arbitrary ſentences, which, without any form of legal procedure, without an accuſer, and without a crime, have been known to tear citizens from the

boſoms of their families. The ſovereign is never ſeen; the weight of his authority is rarely felt: yet if liberty conſiſts in being ſubject to laws, which impartially conſult the intereſts of all the members of the community, you do not enjoy that bleſſing.

When the injuſtice of ſome, and the weakneſs of others, ſhowed the neceſſity for civil ſociety, individuals were obliged to renounce their beloved, but pernicious, independence. All particular wills were melted down into the general will of the public; by which, under the ſanction of definite puniſhments, men became bound to regulate their conduct. But it is a matter of the utmoſt delicacy to determine with whom that general will ought to be depoſited. Shall it reſide in the breaſt of a prince, who thereby becomes abſolute? I know that the true intereſts of a prince can never be ſeparated from thoſe of his people, and that in exerting himſelf for their benefit, he labors for his own. This is the language of philoſophy, but it is ſeldom ſpoken by the preceptors of princes; and if the latter ſometimes read it in their own hearts, the impreſſion is ſpeedily effaced by contrary paſſions, in themſelves, their confeſſors, their miniſters, or miſtreſſes. The groans of the people are not ſoon heard; and their maſter learns only by a fatal experience, that it is the intereſt of a ſhepherd to preſerve his flock. The legiſlative power, therefore, cannot ſafely be intruſted to a ſingle perſon. A council, whoſe members mutually inſtruct, and mutually check each other, appears to be its proper depoſitory. But in this council one

condition is essentially requisite. It must consist of deputies from every order in the state, interested by their own safety in opposing every regulation inconsistent with the happiness of that order to which they belong. Such a council will rarely be guilty of gross errors; and should this sometimes happen, it will soon blush for, and repair them. Is this the picture of your legislature? When I survey your country, I behold two nations, distinctly characterized by their rights, employments, and manners: the one, consisting of three hundred families, born to command; the other, consisting of a hundred thousand, doomed to submission. The former are invested, as a body, with all the prerogatives of hereditary monarchs, which are the more humiliating to you their subjects, because they belong to men apparently your equals. The comparison between yourselves and them is made every moment; no circumstance tends to conceal it from your fancy.

A council of three hundred persons is the sovereign empire of your dearest interests, which will always be sacrificed when they clash with their own. This council is invested with the executive, as well as the legislative, power; two branches of authority which can never be united, without rendering each of them too formidable to the subject. When they belong to different persons, or assemblies, the legislature will not venture to form violent resolutions, because these would be of no avail, unless they were carried into execution by another power, always its rival, and often its antagonist. The sword

of authority is not only ſharpened by this union, but is thereby confined to a ſmaller number of hands. In the laſt century the great council of Bern began to elect its own members; which was a great ſtep towards oligarchy, ſince it excluded from elections the citizens at large, and thereby narrowed the baſis of the government. But this arrangement was liable to other inconveniencies. Intrigue, venality, and debauchery ſignalized the admiſſion of citizens into the ſovereign council; and ambitious men ſquandered their wealth, that they might purchaſe a right to indulge their rapacity. A committee of ſix counſellors, eſtabliſhed in the infancy of the republic, to watch the execution of the laws, and whoſe offices were held at pleaſure, became intruſted with the power of naming the members of the grand council, by which this committee itſelf was appointed. Its number was augmented by ſixteen ſenators, choſen in the manner moſt favorable to the deſigns of faction. They exerciſed their power at firſt collectively, but by degrees they came to underſtand that their particular intereſts would be better promoted by each naming his ſon, ſon-in-law, or kinſman. The powerful families which then commanded the ſenate, ſtill rule in it at preſent. Thirty places are filled by the Watteville and Steigers. This ſelfiſh traffic, by which the members of the little council are elected by the great council, conſiſting of their own relations, that they may name other relations to ſeats in the great council, has reduced the number of families, which have a right to ſit in the latter, to nearly

ourſcore. Theſe princely families look down with qual contempt on thoſe who are their fellow-citizens y the law of nature, and thoſe who were rendered ch by the conſtitution of their country. The former laſs is deprived of a reſource which the moſt abſolute rinces have ſeldom ventured to wreſt from their ubjects; I mean thoſe courts of juſtice acknowledged y the prince, and revered by the people, as the rgans of public opinion, and the depoſitories of he laws. The commands of the ſovereign are obeyed ith cheerfulneſs only when their propriety is onfirmed by the approbation of thoſe tribunals, whoſe members it has been found difficult either to eceive, to ſeduce, or to intimidate. Their reſiſtance o oppreſſion is reſpectful, but firm; and in exerting , they diſplay that warmth of eloquence with which eaſon and liberty inſpire good citizens. In the nembers of thoſe peaceful tribunals, ſuch qualities ppear in their greateſt luſtre. Deſtitute of arms, heir whole ſtrength lies in their talents and their robity. What noble leſſons to kings have been iven by the parliament of Paris? What excellent xamples to ſubjects are ſet by the Mandarines of China? Monarchs *muſt* hear the groans of their eople, when ſuch reſpectable bodies of men are heir organs. The people too learn that they have a ountry, which they will begin to love, to ſtudy its aws, and to form themſelves to public virtues. Theſe virtues ripen ſilently; they are exerted when n opportunity offers; and ſometimes they will make n opportunity for their own exhibition. In the Pays

de Vaud, which was equally reſpectable under the kings of Burgundy and the dukes of Savoy, the ſtates formed ſuch a tribunal. They were compoſed of the nobility, clergy, and deputies from the principal cities, which annually aſſembled at Moudon, and formed the perpetual council of the prince, without whoſe conſent he could neither enact new laws, nor impoſe new taxes. Were I on the ſpot, I could prove the exiſtence of thoſe rights by your moſt authentic records. At a diſtance I can only appeal to their teſtimony, and employ an analogical proof, which will be ſufficiently convincing to men of letters. The Barbarians, who overflowed Europe in the fifth century, every where laid the foundation of that form of government which Charlemagne eſtabliſhed in the Low Countries, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. The different modes of tenure which were at different times introduced, the various degrees of dependance which one fief came to have on another, the acquiſition of lordſhips by the clergy, and the purchaſe of franchiſes by cities; all theſe circumſtances occaſioned but ſlight differences in the ground-work of the conſtitution, which remained unalterably founded on a firm baſis of liberty. The ſtates, their members, and their rights, were invariably maintained; remaining uniformly the ſame at all times, and in all places.

I think that I hear you, my friend, interrupting me. Hitherto, you ſay, I have liſtened to you with patience; but what is your concluſion from this picture of our government? Whatever defects there

ay be in its principles, we have experienced its lutary conſequences; and the ſtates and aſſemblies hich you ſo much commend, will not eaſily make aboliſh our ancient magiſtracies, in order to try novations.

It is time, Sir, to pauſe; I ſpoke to you as became freeman, and you anſwer me in the language of very. Let us admit for a moment your proſperity; whom do you owe it? You will not anſwer, to e conſtitution. It is due then to your rulers. The omans owed a proſperity yet greater to Titus; but ll remained the baſeſt of ſlaves. Brutus would have ught you that a deſpot may ſometimes chooſe to omote the public happineſs; but that the magiſtrates a free people can have no other wiſh. The advanges actually enjoyed by a citizen and a ſlave may the ſame; but thoſe of the latter are precarious, ving no other foundation than the changeable ſſions of men; whereas thoſe of the former are cure, being ſolidly ſupported by thoſe laws which rb guilty paſſions in the prince as well as in the aſant.

But unfortunately too many faults may be found your public adminiſtation. I ſhall give you the ack liſt of omiſſions and oppreſſions, which, twithſtanding that you will exclaim againſt my alignity, your own memory will augment by a ndred articles, which I may be either ignorant of, forget to mention. It is the duty of a ſovereign to ocure for his people all the happineſs of which their ndition is ſuſceptible. His public ſpirited exertions

may be ſuſpended by the exigencies of defenſive wa
but as ſoon as peace is reſtored, he will be continually
and uſefully occupied with the intereſts of religion
laws, morals, ſciences, police, commerce, an
agriculture. Let us try the merits of the ſenate of Ber
by theſe maxims. The members of this ſenate hav
been maſters of the Pays de Vaud ſince the year on
thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſix. When w
conſider the deplorable condition in thoſe days o
France, England, Holland, and Germany, we ca
ſcarcely imagine that they were the ſame countrie
with thoſe reſpectively known at preſent by the ſam
names. Their barbariſm has been civilized, the
ignorance enlightened, their poverty enriched; the
deſerts have become cities, and their foreſts no
wave with yellow harveſts. Theſe wonders hav
been effected by their princes and miniſters: a Henr
the Fourth, a Sully, a Colbert, an Elizabeth, a d
Witt, and a Frederick William. The comparativ
condition of the Pays de Vaud at thoſe two remot
æras, does not preſent ſo pleaſing a picture. The
the arts ſtill languiſh, for want of thoſe encourage
ments which princes only can beſtow: the countr
is ſtill deſtitute of commerce and manufactures: w
hear not of any projects for promoting the publi
proſperity: we ſee nothing but the marks of a
univerſal lethargy. Yet the princes above mentione
had but moments for executing their great deſigns
the ſenators of Bern have had ages. What benefit
might not thoſe patriotic kings have conferred o
their ſubjects, if, inſtead of having their throne

ontinually ſhaken by war and ſedition, they had njoyed during two centuries the advantage of aving loyal ſubjects and pacific neighbours? I ppeal to yourſelf; point out a ſingle uſeful eſtabliſh- ent which the Pays de Vaud owes to the ſove- eignty of Bern: but do not tell me of the academy f Lauſanne founded on motives of religion during he zeal of reformation, but ſince totally neglected, hough a worthy magiſtrate of that city propoſed the udable deſign of erecting it into an univerſity.

Your maſters err not through ignorance. They are ot deficient, I know, in political abilities. But hile a prince treats with impartial bounty all his ubjects, the citizens of an ariſtocratial capital are apt o behold with jealouſy the improvement of the rovinces. Their elevation, they think, muſt pave he way for their own downfal; and if they become heir equals in point of knowledge and riches, they ill ſoon be tempted, they imagine, to aſpire at an quality with themſelves in power. Recal to memory he year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-five; hen the wretched policy of Louis the Fourteenth rove from their country the moſt induſtrious ortion of his ſubjects, many of whom ſought refuge n the Pays de Vaud; a neighbouring diſtrict, and peaking their own language. They requeſted only n aſylum, the benefit of which they would richly ave repaid by the wealth which they carried with hem, and their ſkill in manufactures, ſtill more aluable. But the narrow policy of Bern took the larm. "If we make theſe men citizens of Bern, their

" intereſts will coincide with our own. But is it
" that mortals ſhould be raiſed to the rank of gods
" If they are mixed with the maſs of our ſubjects
" our ſubjects will be enriched by their induſtry.
They concluded therefore, with the ambaſſadors
Porſenna — " *that it was more deſirable for a prin*
" *to govern a poor but ſubmiſſive people, than*
" *contend with the unruly paſſions of men pamper*
" *by proſperity.*"

The emigrants, diſguſted at being repeated
refuſed what they ought to have been requeſted
accept, travelled to Holland, Pruſſia, and Englan
whoſe rulers had the good ſenſe to avail themſelv
of an emergency as favorable as it was ſingular.
part of them indeed remained in the Pays de Vau
but the pooreſt and the idleſt, who had neith
money nor ſpirit to travel farther.

Theſe unhappy fugitives had no ſooner begun
forget their paſt ſufferings, than they learned by ha
experience that, in order to avoid perſecution,
was neceſſary to fly from the ſociety of men. T
ſovereigns of the country in which they had ſettl
had imbibed the ſevere ſyſtem of Calvin, a ſte
theologian, who loved liberty too well, to endu
that Chriſtians ſhould wear any other chains th
thoſe impoſed by himſelf. His near conformity
opinion with a celebrated German philoſophe
intereſted the honor of the German name in ſu
porting his doctrines. But in the Pays de Vaud
aſperity of religious opinions had ſoftened with t
improvement of ſociety. It became neceſſar
therefore, to ſend thither formulas and inquiſito
deſigned

esigned to make as many hypocrites as poſſible, ot indeed by fire and ſword, but by threats and epoſition from office.

In ſupporting the rights of man, I would not carry oo far the maxims of toleration. It is juſt that public ewards ſhould be beſtowed only on thoſe who teach he religion of the public; and thoſe bold innovators, who would impart a dangerous light to the people, ay very properly be reſtrained by the arm of the agiſtrate. But it ſurely is abſurd, that the ſovereign ould interfere in theological minutiæ, and take art warmly in queſtions which are incapable of eing decided. It is particularly unjuſt, that he ould impoſe confeſſions of faith on old miniſters, ho wiſh to avoid diſputation; leaving them the iſerable alternative of falſhood or beggary. But is perſecution has now ceaſed. What put an end to ? It was not ſhame, nor the tears of the people, ut the boldneſs of Davel, that meritorious enthuſiaſt. ven to the preſent day, a ſecret inquiſition ſtill igns at Lauſanne; where the names of Arminian d Socinian are often mentioned in the letters ritten by very honeſt people to their patrons of ern; and offices are often given or with-held cording to the reports made of the religious tenets the candidates.

Having made theſe ſtrictures on your legiſlature, hich by no means exhauſt the ſubject, I proceed conſider the defects of your executive power; hich is the public force, as the legiſlature ought be the public will. But a ſingle council, or a ſingle an, may deliberate and reſolve for a whole nation;

the executive power, on the contrary, requires the exertions of many: as it is compoſed of a great variety of branches, many officers, ſubordinate one to the other, muſt actuate the different parts of the machine, to which the chief magiſtrate can only communicate the firſt general movement. The honors and emoluments legally attached to ſuch offices, ought to be open to all thoſe citizens who are properly qualified for diſcharging them. Each individual, as he bears a ſhare of the public burdens, is entitled alſo to a ſhare of the public rewards. This juſt arrangement is eaſily maintained in monarchies; where, with the exception of a few courtiers, who, by being continually about the prince's perſon, have an opportunity of ſubſtituting flattery inſtead of real ſervices, all the inhabitants of the kingdom are treated with comparative equity. In France, provided a man has court-favor or merit, the queſtion is never aſked whether he comes from Provence or Normandy. D'Epernon was born in Gaſcony; Richelieu, in Champagne; Mazarine, in Rome. But in ariſtocratical republics, the citizens of one town are not contented with being ſovereigns collectively, unleſs they individually appropriate all offices of honor or emolument. In the canton of Bern talents and information are not of the ſmalleſt uſe to any one who is not born in the capital; and in another ſenſe they are uſeleſs to thoſe born there; becauſe they may make their way without them. Their ſubjects in the Pays de Vaud are condemned, by the circumſtances of their birth, to a condition of ſhameful obſcurity. They naturally become, therefore, a prey to deſpair; and neglecting to cultivate talents

which they can never enjoy an opportunity to display, thoſe who had capacities for becoming great men are contented with making themſelves agreeable companions. Should I propoſe that the ſubjects obtained a right to hold the lucrative employments of *Bailiffs*, or governors of diſtricts, the ariſtocratical families of Bern would think me guilty of a crime little leſs than ſacrilege. "The emoluments of "theſe offices form the patrimony of the ſtate; and "we are the ſtate." It is true, that you in the Pays de Vaud may be deputies to the Bailiffs, but the advantages belonging to that ſubordinate magiſtracy are obtained on certain conditions, which, unleſs the holder of the office lives a certain number of years, renders his bargain a very bad one for his family.

What encouragement is then left for the gentlemen of the Pays de Vaud? That of foreign ſervice. But to them, even this road to preferment is extremely difficult, and to attain the higher ranks is impoſſible. I ſpeak not of the brilliant ſervice of France: in that country, expenſe is unavoidable; the enſign is ruined, the captain can ſcarcely live, and the colonel cannot ſave money. You are therefore obliged to the paternal care of the magiſtrates of Bern, whoſe treaties for ſupplying troops to France do not lead you into temptation. Let us only conſider the ſervice of Holland, a ſervice more profitable than ſhowy, where officers have nothing to do but to grow rich. By the treaty of 1712, the Canton of Bern granted the uſe of twenty-four companies to their High Mightineſſes, and promiſed that they

ſhould always be allowed to recruit them in their territories. But the command of ſixteen of thoſe companies was appropriated by the citizens of Bern, and the remaining eight were left common between them and their ſubjects in the Pays de Vaud. On the ſuppoſition, then, that the intereſt of both claſſes of candidates for thoſe companies is equal, the ſovereign people will obtain four out of the eight, and twenty out of the whole twenty-four. This proportion appears the more unreaſonable, when it is conſidered that in the canton there are above a hundred thouſand men fit to bear arms, of whom ſcarcely eight hundred are citizens of Bern. Beſides, the poorer claſſes of citizens, proud merely of this title, prefer living in idleneſs at Bern to honorable exertions abroad, by which they might better their condition. I doubt, therefore, whether fifty citizens of Bern, who are not officers, will be found in the whole of the Swiſs Dutch troops.

Theſe inconveniencies, you will tell me, are only felt by men of family; that is to ſay, by the moſt reſpectable, but leaſt numerous, portion of the community; and they diſappear amidſt the general equity and impartiality of the public adminiſtration. But does the tyranny of the *bailiffs* diſappear alſo? The people, a name ſo dear to humanity, feel the full weight of their oppreſſion. I will not have recourſe to particular examples; becauſe you might call in queſtion the authenticity of facts, or object with reaſon, that general concluſions are not to be drawn from particular principles. I ſhall be contented with pointing out the extent of their power, and leave to your own knowledge of human nature to infer

the abuſes with which it muſt be accompanied. In his own diſtrict every bailiff is at the head of religion, of the law, the army, and the finances. As judge, he decides, without appeal, all cauſes to the amount of a hundred franks; a ſum of little importance to a gentleman, but which often makes the whole fortune of a peaſant; and he decides alone, for the voice of his aſſeſſors has not any weight in the ſcale. He confers, or rather he ſells, all the employments in his diſtrict. When the injured party wiſhes to appeal from his ſentence, as there is no court of juſtice at Moudon, he is obliged to remove the cauſe to Bern; and how few peaſants can bear this expenſe? But if his eagerneſs to puniſh his tyrant carries him thither, it is not without many difficulties on his part, that the Avoyer, or chief magiſtrate, grants him admiſſion into the council; where, after all his trouble and expenſe, he is finally allowed to plead his cauſe before a tribunal, the members of which are connected with his oppreſſor by the ties of blood, and ſtill more by a conformity of intereſts and crimes.

Your taxes, moderate as they are, exhauſt the country. This obſervation requires to be explained. While the great kingdoms of Europe, loaded with expenſes and debts, are driven to expedients which would alarm the wildeſt prodigal, Bern is the only ſtate which has amaſſed a large treaſure. The ſecret has been ſo well kept, that it is not eaſy to aſcertain its amount. Stanyan, the Britiſh envoy at Bern, a man inquiſitive and poſſeſſed of good means of information, eſtimated forty years ago the money belonging to that republic, in the Engliſh funds,

at three hundred thouſand pounds, or ſeven millions of Swiſs livres; and the ſums remaining in the treaſury of Bern, or diſperſed through the other funds or banks of Europe, at eighteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, or forty-three millions Swiſs. Theſe treaſures have not probably diminiſhed ſince the year 1722. The Canton enriches itſelf by the ſimple means of receiving much and expending little. But what is the amount of its receipts? I know not, but I will try to diſcover it. The twelve bailiwics, or diſtricts, of the Pays de Vaud pay, one with another, during the ſix years that they are governed by the ſame magiſtrate, five hundred thouſand Swiſs livres. The contributions, therefore, of all the twelve amount to a million of livres annually. I have always been told that the bailiffs, or governors, retain ten *per cent.* on the revenues raiſed within their reſpective juriſdictions. The million of revenue, diminiſhed by a hundred thouſand livres conſumed in the appointments of the *bailiffs*, is reduced to three hundred thouſand crowns; of which one hundred thouſand may be allowed for the expenſes of the ſtate, a ſum not choſen at random; and the other two hundred thouſand crowns, which in other contries would be employed in the maintenance of a court and army, whoſe incomes would circulate through the general maſs of the people on whom they had been raiſed, are here buried in the coffers of the ſovereignty, or diſperſed through the precarious banks of Europe, to become one day a prey to the knavery of a clerk, or the ambition of a conqueror. This continual abſorption of ſpecie extinguiſhes induſtry, deadens

every enterprise that requires the aid of money, and gradually impoverishes the country.

These, Sir, are your hardships. But I think you will say to me, "Have you thus probed our wounds "merely to make us feel their smart? What advice "do you give us?" None, unless you have already anticipated it. I would indeed advise you to remonstrate. But there are evils so deeply rooted in governments, that Plato himself would despair of curing them. What could you expect to obtain from those masters by remonstrances, who have remained during two centuries insensible to the merit of your faithful service? There is another remedy, more prompt, more perfect, and more glorious. William Tell would have prescribed it; I do not. I know that the spirit of a good citizen is, like that of charity, long-suffering, and hoping all things. The citizen is in the right; since he knows the evils resulting from his submission, but knows not the greater evils which might be produced by his resistance. You know me too well to be ignorant how much I respect those principles, so friendly to the interests of peace and of human kind. I will never, in the language of a seditious tribune, persuade the people to shake off the yoke of authority, that they may proceed from murmur to sedition, from sedition to anarchy, and from anarchy perhaps to despotism.

Yet, with the freedom which has hitherto guided my pen, I will endeavour to destroy some giants of romance, which might otherwise inspire you with vain terror. Whether you prefer the road of bold

enterprise or cautious repose, I wish that reason, not prejudice, should dictate your choice.

The magistrates of Bern have a right to expect your obedience: you fear to do them wrong in with-holding it.

N° XIII.

Comte de CAYLUS *to Mr.* MALLET.

DEAR SIR, 1761.

I READ with as much eagerness as pleasure the excellent and agreeable work with which the author presented me. I speak as if Mr. Gibbon had not praised me, and that too warmly. His work is that of a real man of letters, who loves them for their own sake, without exception or prejudice; and who unites with much talent the more precious gift of good sense, and an impartiality that displays his candor and justice, in spite of the bias that he must have received from the innumerable authors whom he has read and studied. I have therefore perused, with the greatest avidity, this little work; and wish that it was more extensive, and read universally.

I would also express my thanks to Lady Hervey, for making me acquainted with an author who proves in every page that learning is hostile only to ignorance and prejudice; who deserves to have a Maty for his friend, and who adds honor and strength to our language by the use which he so ably makes of it. Were I more learned I should dwell on the merit of the discussions, and the justness of the observations. CAYLUS.

ABSTRACT OF MY READING;

WITH REFLECTIONS.

READING is to the mind," ſaid the Duke of Vivonne to Lewis XIV. "what your partridges are to my chops." It is, in fact, the nouriſhment of the mind; or by reading, we know our Creator, his works, ourſelves chiefly, and our fellow-creatures. But this nouriſhment is eaſily converted into poiſon. Salmaſius had read as much as Grotius, perhaps more. But their different modes of readingmade the one, an enlightened philoſopher; and the other, to ſpeak plainly, a pedant, puffed up with an uſeleſs erudition. Dover, 14th March 1761.

Let us read with method, and propoſe to ourſelves an end to which all our ſtudies may point. Through neglect of this rule, groſs ignorance often diſgraces great readers; who, by ſkipping haſtily and irregularly from one ſubject to another, render themſelves incapable of combining their ideas. So many detached parcels of knowledge cannot form a whole. This inconſtancy weakens the energies of the mind, creates in it a diſlike to application, and even robs it of the advantages of natural good ſenſe.

Yet, let us avoid the contrary extreme; and reſpect method, without rendering ourſelves its ſlaves. While we propoſe an end in our reading, let not this end be too remote; and when once we have attained it, let our attention be directed to a different object. Inconſtancy weakens the underſtanding: a long and excluſive application to a ſingle object, hardens and contracts it. Our ideas no longer change eaſily into a different channel, and the courſe of reading to which we have too long accuſtomed ourſelves, is the only one that we can purſue with pleaſure.

We ought beſides, to be careful, not to make the order of our thoughts ſubſervient to that of our ſubjects; this would be to ſacrifice the principal to the acceſſory. The uſe of our reading is to aid us in thinking. The peruſal of a particular work gives birth, perhaps, to ideas unconnected with the ſubject of which it treats. I wiſh to purſue theſe ideas; they withdraw me from my propoſed plan of reading, and throw me into a new track, and from thence perhaps, into a ſecond, and a third. At length I begin to perceive whither my reſearches tend. The reſult, perhaps, may be profitable; it is worth while to try: whereas had I followed the high road, I ſhould not have been able, at the end of my long journey, to retrace the progreſs of my thoughts.

This plan of reading is not applicable to our early ſtudies, ſince the ſevereſt method is ſcarcely ſufficient to make us conceive objects altogether new. Neither can it be adopted by thoſe who read in order to write; and who ought to dwell on their ſubject till they have ſounded its depths. Theſe reflections however, I do not abſolutely warrant. On the ſuppoſition that they are juſt, they may be ſo, perhaps for myſelf only. The conſtitution of minds differs like that of bodies. The ſame regimen will not ſuit all. Each individual ought to ſtudy his own.

To read with attention, exactly to define the expreſſions of our author, never to admit a concluſion without comprehending its reaſon, often to pauſe, reflect, and interrogate ourſelves; theſe are ſome advices which it is eaſy to give, but difficult to follow. The ſame may be ſaid of that almoſt evangelical maxim of forgetting friends, country, religion,

ving merit its due praiſe, and embracing truth
herever it is to be found.

But what ought we to read? Each individual muſt
ſwer this queſtion for himſelf, agreeably to the
bject of his ſtudies. The only general precept that
would venture to give, is that of Pliny [1], "to read
much, rather than many things;" to make a
reful ſelection of the beſt works, and to render
em familiar tous, by attentive and repeated peru-
s Without expatiating on the authors ſo generally
own and approved, I would ſimply obſerve, that
matters of reaſoning, the beſt are thoſe who have
gmented the number of uſeful truths; who have
ſcovered truths, of whatever nature they may be:
one word, thoſe bold ſpirits, who quitting the
aten tract, prefer being in the wrong alone, to
ing in the right with the multitude. Such authors
creaſe the number of our ideas, and even their
ſtakes are uſeful to their ſucceſſors. With all the
ſpect due to Mr. Locke, I would not, however,
glect the works of thoſe academicians, who deſtroy
ors without hoping to ſubſtitute truth in their
ad. In works of fancy, invention ought to bear
ay the palm; chiefly that invention which creates
ew kind of writing; and next, that which diſplays
charms of novelty, in its ſubject, characters,
uations, pictures, thoughts, and ſentiments. Yet
s invention will miſs its effect, unleſs it be accom-
nied with a genius, capable of adapting itſelf to
ery variety of the ſubject; ſucceſſively ſublime,
hetic, flowery, majeſtic, and playful; and with
dgment which admits nothing indecorous, and
yle which expreſſes well, whatever *ought* to be

ſaid. As to compilations, which are intended mere
to treaſure up the thoughts of others, I aſk whet
they are written with perſpicuity, whether ſup
fluities are lopped off, and diſperſed obſervations
fully collected; and agreeably to my anſwers to th
queſtions, I eſtimate the merit of ſuch performanc

When we have read with attention, there
nothing more uſeful to the memory than extract
ſpeak not of thoſe collections, or adverſaria, wh
may be ſerviceable in their own way, but of extra
made with reflection, ſuch as thoſe of Photius, a
of ſeveral of our modern journaliſts. I purpoſe in t
manner to give an account to myſelf of my readi
My method will vary with the ſubject. In works
reaſoning, I will trace their general plan, expl
the principles eſtabliſhed, and examine the co
ſequences deduced from them. A philoſopher
unworthy of the name, whoſe work is not m
advantageouſly viewed as a whole. After careful
meditating my ſubject, the only liberty I ſhall tak
is that of exhibiting it under an arrangement differ
perhaps from that of my author. Works of fan
contain beauties, both of plan and of execution:
ſhall be attentive to both. Hiſtory, if little know
deſerves an abridgment. I ſhall extract ſuch particul
as are new. Throughout, I ſhall give my opini
with becoming modeſty, but with the courage o
man unwilling to betray the rights of reaſon. In th
compilement, I ſhall collect my ſcattered thoughts
with the reflections of every ſort that occur in m
ſearch for truth. For I ſhall continue to ſearch for t
truth, though hitherto I have found nothing b
probability.

ical Researches concerning the Title of Charles VIII. to the Crown of Naples.

NATURAL and civil law has, each of them, its nciple; but by what maxim ſhall we regulate the ceſſion to ſtates? The rules of private ſucceſſion not apply to them, their object being ſo different. blic agreements are rarely ſufficiently determinate; ties are liable to chicane; examples are wanting; each party rejects thoſe examples which are not orable to his cauſe.

Uncertainty of the rights of ſucceſſion.

The kingdom of Naples, and Europe itſelf, were n diſtracted by the quarrels between the houſes Anjou and Arragon. Victory remained long btful. I am going to examine by which of the tending parties it was merited. The conteſt is at nd. In the treaties of Madrid and of Cambray, houſe of France ſolemnly renounced its preten- s; and even Father Daniel ' was not obliged to ntain them.

Quarrels of the houſes of Anjou and Arragon.

et us firſt diſcover ſome propoſition acknowled- by both parties. Before the council of Lyons, emperor Frederic II. was lawful king of Naples; rded as ſuch by the pope his liege lord or ſuperior, is own ſubjects, and by all the princes of Europe. ough his mother he inherited all the rights of the man family. The Greek emperors, who would been his only competitors, were no more.

The emperor Frederic II. was lawful king of Naples.

rdinand, whoſe title was called in queſtion by les VIII. deſcended from the houſe of Arragon. aſſerted the right of inheritance. Peter I. of

The family of Arragon deſcended from him.

Their rights.

Arragon, his anceſtor, had married Conſtance, th
daughter of Mainfroy, the grand-child of the empero
Frederic II. and the ſole heireſs of the houſe of Swabi
a title incontrovertible, had it been pure; b
Ferdinand's blood was defiled by two baſtardie
that of Mainfroy, and his own.

Reaſons why baſtards are deprived of the right of ſucceſſion.

The inſtitution of marriage is neceſſary in civiliz
countries. Hereditary property in land implies th
appropriation of women; ſince the beſt means
tranſmitting property is by proximity of blood
which muſt therefore be aſcertained by marriag
the public engagement of one man with one woma
whoſe children are regarded as his ſucceſſors. Wh
ever violates this laſt ought to be puniſhed in h
deſcendant, whoſe birth being an outrage to ſociet
he cannot be conſidered as its child, nor particip
in the property of which it ſecures the ſucceſſio

Their diſgrace in the public opinion.

Such are the laws which reaſon has dictated to
nations. Manners, often more powerful than law
here corroborate and confirm them; condemning
perpetual ignominy the unhappy baſtard, wh
father muſt ever be uncertain, and who knows h
mother only by her crime: a cruel, but ſalut
puniſhment, ſince on it depend the chaſtity of wom
the education of children, and the peace of t
community. If then both laws and manners decl
baſtards incapable of inheriting private eſtates,
what principle ought they to ſucceed to kingdom
The title of a ſovereign cannot be too clear, nor
birth too much reſpected.

They cannot ſucceed to kingdoms.

Laws are deaf to every voice but that of juſtice a
the public good. But it belongs to princes to judg

cording to circumſtances, whether they ought to ſten, or rigorouſly to enforce the laws. When the pentance of his mother, or his own merit, have ficaciouſly pleaded for an illegitimate ſon, the emency of a prince may remove the ſtain from his rth, and thus reſtore him to ſociety and his rights.

But in applying this maxim to the houſe of rragon, a multitude of difficulties occur, of which is impoſſible not to feel the force. 1. By what eans is legitimation by a prince to be aſcertained. erdinand was legitimated by a ſolemn act; but I now not whether that was the caſe with Mainfroy: s father indeed bequeathed to him the principality Salerno, and even the inheritance of the kingdom. remains to determine, whether a prince, entitled perform an act of favor and mercy, actually does by conferring an office of dignity, which cannot be joyed unleſs the act of mercy has previouſly been tained; that is to ſay, whether the ſubſtance ought prevail over the form, or the form over the bſtance *. — 2. Can a prince legitimate his own ildren? Being ſubject to the laws, he cannot olate them without being amenable to juſtice; ough the public good requires that his perſon ould not be liable to puniſhment. But, in the ppoſed caſe, his violation of the laws may be niſhed in the perſons of thoſe who are moſt dear to m: it cannot ſurely be ſaid, that he is obliged to bmit to a puniſhment which his own pardon can rgive. — 3. Does this legitimation extend to the ht of ſucceſſion to the crown *?—4. Do legitimated ildren recover completely the rights of lawful

Difficulties concerning the right of legitimation.

Can a prince legitimate his children,

and call them to the ſucceſſion, before collateral heirs?

offspring, and of the neareſt heirs to the crown; or rather, ought they not to be the laſt in the order of ſucceſſion after all the collateral branches? It is not fit that we ſhould be bountiful, before we have been juſt. Even Lewis XIV. when he trampled on the rights of the nation, ſtill reſpected thoſe of the princes of the blood.

John the uncle of Ferdinand.

Can a prince renounce for his poſterity?

This laſt queſtion is extremely important. Alphonzo the father of Ferdinand, left a brother named John who ſucceeded to him in the kingdom of Arragon. John did not indeed diſpute his nephew's right of ſucceſſion to the kingdom of Naples, but could his renunciation bind his poſterity? This is a queſtion with the deciſion of which we ſhall not now meddle, ſince it was formerly the occaſion of ſo many diſputes [6].

Theſe reflections create juſt ſuſpicions concerning the title of the houſe of Arragon, particularly of Ferdinand: but in the ages of iron, when this conteſt aroſe, the prevalent cuſtoms of the times were more favorable to their claim. In thoſe ages, as wicked as they were ignorant, princes diſgraced themſelves by a life of profligacy; and when they had not any legitimate children, their barons were eaſily prevailed on to acknowledge the rights of their *baſtards*. How could the barons deſpiſe an appellation which they often prided themſelves in bearing [7], or diſavow a right which was often their own? A partiſan of the houſe of Anjou could not attack the title of his rival without challenging the rights of the kings of England, Caſtile, and Portugal [8]. In matters merely conventional, examples are more powerful than

In the middle ages, baſtards often inherited crowns;

In England, Caſtile, and Portugal.

principles.

rinciples. Amidſt the light of the XVIIIth century, he pretenſions of the houſe of Arragon may appear xtremely unjuſtifiable; but might have worn a very ifferent aſpect during the ignorance of the XVth.

I am not ſenſible of omitting any of the arguments ither for or againſt the title of that houſe. Mainfroy ndeed uſurped the crown, to the prejudice of his ephew Conradin; but as Conradin died childleſs, Mainfroy's crime was merely perſonal, and extended ot to his poſterity.

Mainfroy's poſterity not uſurpers, though he himſelf was one.

The rights of Charles VIII. were far more com- licated. The depoſition of Frederick II. by the ope, and the inveſtiture of Naples granted by him o Charles I. formed the title of the firſt houſe of njou. The adoption of Lewis of Anjou by queen oan tranſmitted this title to the ſecond branch, from hich Charles VIII. received it by the teſtament of harles, the laſt count of Provence, and titular king f Naples. Theſe are the three links of the chain, hich muſt be ſeparately examined.

The rights of Charles VIII.

The depoſition of Frederick II. by pope Inno- ent IV. ſtirred up Europe againſt that unhappy rince. The multitude commanded a ſalutary ſeverity, hich did not ſpare even ſovereigns themſelves, hen they became the enemies of the church. A very w only condemned the pope's ſentence, not as njuſt, but as too harſh: they thought that his olineſs took away crowns with too little ceremony, t they acknowledged that he had the right of king them away *.

The depoſition of Frederick II. by the pope, A. D. 1249.

Sound philoſophy would teach us to ſmile at this etended right, had it not been productive of too

Principles of philoſophy.

The church subject to the state.

melancholy consequences. The most numerous portion of every community determines the prevailing religion: the sovereign establishes ministers to practise its rules, and to teach its precepts to the people: the sovereign also regulates its functions, hierarchy, and appointments; ecclesiastics being not less subject to his authority than judges and soldiers. But without recurring to principles which would not be universally admitted, the maxims of the Gallican church afford a sufficient answer to those transalpine pretensions. According to these maxims, the church, it is true, is not bound in obedience to the state; but neither has the former any control over the latter. They are two independent, but allied, powers which ought always to contribute their mutual assistance, without ever infringing their reciprocal rights. The pope can no more depose the emperor, than the emperor can pass decisions of faith. Excommunication is of a nature entirely spiritual; and the person excommunicated, though no longer a Christian, ceases not to be a father, a master, or a king. The emperor Frederick II. was not less king of Naples after the council of Lyons than before; and whatever was done on the supposition that he and his family were divested of the rights of sovereignty, was completely null.

Maxims of the Gallican church.

The clergy's authority entirely spiritual.

The pope cannot depose a sovereign.

The pope could depose Frederick, as his lord paramount.

But if Innocent could not, as sovereign pontiff, depose Frederick; yet, as lord paramount of the kingdom of Naples, he could deprive a rebellious vassal of his fief. This right is far more specious. The Norman conquerors, through devotion or policy, had consented to hold their Italian posses-

ons as fiefs of the Holy See; which conferred their veſtiture on thoſe princes, and on the Swabian mperors, their ſucceſſors.

Yet in examining this right of ſovereignty by e principles of the feudal law, I know not whether rederick's partiſans needed to have given up the ule. They might have ſaid, 1. It belonged to the ope to ſhow by his conduct, whether he really ted as lord paramount. Is it by a ſolemn excom- unication, in a general council of biſhops, and by ſolving ſubjects from their oaths of fidelity, that a perior condemns his vaſſal? In ſuch condemna- ons is it uſual to join with the crime of felony, the cuſations of perfidy, ſacrilege, and hereſy? An embly of peers, and of all the great vaſſals of the oly See, with a king of England at their head, was e only tribunal to which Frederick was amenable; d felony was the only crime of which that tribunal uld take cogniſance. But in the council of Lyons, nocent IV. appears under no other character than t of ſovereign pontiff. 2. Never did any court juſtice leſs deſerve the name. It heard neither the cuſation nor the defence; and refuſed to grant to perſon accuſed the ſmalleſt delay, although his niſters, intruſted with full powers, haſtened to ons. Sentence was pronounced before their ival; a ſentence founded neither on acknowledged , nor on judicial evidence, but on a pretended oriety of facts, vague reports, and public ru- rs. 3. The ſubſtance was not leſs defective than form. Frederick had not deſerved to be ſtripped his fief. Though a vaſſal of the Holy See, he

Anſwers of Frederick's partiſans.

1. Innocent acted merely in his character of pope.

2. The ſentence was irregular,

3. and unjuſt.

Duties of a vaſſal.

was not its ſubject. The vaſſal of a great fief reigne
over it with abſolute ſovereignty; owing nothin
to his paramount but homage, military ſervice, an
the negative duty of not bearing arms againſt hi
liege lord. Theſe duties, beſides, were define
ſo looſely, that it was difficult to convict him of the
violation. If his ſuperior refuſed to do him juſtice
he might aſſert it by force of arms; and his own imm
diate vaſſals were bound to follow him into the fie
againſt a prince, of whom they were themſelves th
rear-vaſſals [10]. By ſtill ſtronger cogency of reaſon
the vaſſal, when attacked by his lord, was entitle
to defend himſelf by arms. But the pope ſurely wa
the aggreſſor; if this appellation could be merite
by excommunicating Frederick, by offering his ſtate
to all the princes of Europe, and by openly excitin
the revolt of his ſubjects in the Milaneſe, Ravenn
and the Treviſan march. 4. If the pope could
pleaſure aſſume the character of ſovereign pontiff
or of prince paramount of the kingdom of Naples
Frederick alſo was juſtified in uſing the ſame rig
of option between his titles. As king of the tw
Sicilies, he held of the court of Rome; but as emp
ror of the Romans, he was ſubject to God only; a
in a quarrel between the church and empire abo
Sardinia, he had not any account to give of the e
ployment of his arms. He was even entitled, co
ſiſtently with his duty, to make uſe of the forces
Naples itſelf, when that kingdom was not the obj
of diſpute. Theſe diſtinctions appear to be too ſu
tile, and even contradictory. They may really
ſo; but they are deducible from that work of h

Frederick had only defended himſelf.

4. Frederick, though a vaſſal of the pope, could make war on him, as emperor.

arism and chance, the feudal syſtem, which admit-
d that a ſovereign might be the vaſſal of his own
bject. Without ſuppoſing this, let it be explained,
ow the kings of England ſince William I. to
dward III. could levy war againſt France. As
ukes of Normandy or Aquitaine, they were vaſſals
f that kingdom; yet theſe wars were acknowledged
s lawful, ſince in the treaties of peace which fol-
owed them, there is not any mention of pardon or
mneſty.

Example of the kings of England dukes of Normandy.

On the juſtneſs of Frederick's depoſition depends
hat of the inveſtiture of Charles of Anjou. The
ingdom of Naples was then indeed poſſeſſed by an
uſurper; but if Conradin could not loſe his title by
he crime of his grandfather, the authority of the
ontiff could not be lawfully exerted but in reſtoring
is inheritance to that young prince. 2. Charles
cquired the kingdom of Naples, and left it to his
oſterity. He was anceſtor, the fourth in aſcent,
o Joan, ſo well known by her infamous debauche-
es. This princeſs, when ready to be overwhelmed
y the arms of her couſin Charles de la Paix, and
ſatisfied with her neareſt relations, applied for
ſiſtance to Lewis duke of Anjou, brother to
harles V. king of France; and by letters-patent,
ated from the caſtle of Oeuf at Naples, the 29th June
380, adopted him for her ſon, and appointed him
eir to all her poſſeſſions [11].

The inveſtiture of Charles of Anjou dependant on the depoſition of Frederick in 1265.

May I be permitted, however, to inquire, whe-
her an European prince is entitled to make ſo fair a
reſent; and whether he enjoys the right of chuſing
r himſelf a ſon and a ſucceſſor? The name of king

Can a prince give away his dominions?

is univerſally uſed; but in different countries it is taken in very different acceptations. Among the natives of the Eaſt, a king is the vicegerent of Heaven, inveſted with deſpotic power over the lives and properties of his ſubjects. Under ſuch governments a king can diſpoſe of his people for the ſame reaſon that a ſhepherd can diſpoſe of his flock. They are his property. But there are other nations, more deſerving the name of men, who ſee in a ſovereign nothing more than the firſt magiſtrate, appointed by the people for the purpoſe of promoting public happineſs, and reſponſible to the people for his adminiſtration. Such a magiſtrate cannot transfer to another a power with which he is intruſted only for his own life. At his demiſe, this power, if the government be elective, returns to the people; if the government be hereditary, the ſame power devolves on the neareſt heir, according to the law of the land; and ſhould the royal family be extinct, the people would reſume all their rights. Theſe maxims, ſurely, prevailed among the northern nations, who founded almoſt all the kingdoms of Europe. Obſerve the ſteps by which they rendered their kings, though always ſubject to the laws, hereditary. Theſe kings were originally only temporary and occaſional chiefs. By degrees they came to hold their offices for life. Gratitude confined the ſphere of election to ſome diſtinguiſhed family; the ſon commonly ſucceeded to the father, but the ſolemnity of an election was ſtill requiſite; ſilence and obedience were finally thought to imply the conſent of the nation; which always, however, reſumed to itſelf the right of changing the

An Aſiatic deſpot may, Why?

A European prince cannot.

Theſe princes became hereditary by degrees.

order of ſucceſſion, when the public good demanded an alteration.

I perceive a glimpſe of this liberty even among people languiſhing in the vileſt ſervitude. The monarchs of the Eaſt, who name their ſucceſſors, muſt chuſe him from the royal family; and their ſubjects would not obey a ſtranger, though inveſted with authority by their late king. They have a confuſed perception that the law ought to be above the prince. Yet (for I am in ſearch only of the truth) it may be obſerved on the other ſide, that the authority of European princes has been acknowledged to extend to the power of transferring their dominions. Charles II. of Spain, believing himſelf entitled to appoint his ſucceſſor, named Philip of Bourbon. France accepted the teſtament; Spain ſubmitted to it, and the allies felt the neceſſity of calling its authenticity in queſtion. Without acknowledging a power of this kind in princes, I know not how we can juſtify thoſe treaties, in which a king transfers, not to a kinſman or friend, but to a ſtranger or enemy, the obedience of a portion of his ſubjects. The public law of Europe conſiders thoſe ſubjects as rebels, when they refuſe to ſubmit to their new prince. The famous diſtinction between domain and frontier, when examined to the bottom, will be found to contain more ſound than ſenſe.

The power of transferring kingdoms bounded among the moſt ſlavish nations.

Yet the nations of Europe ſeem to acknowledge this power.

The teſtament of Charles II. of Spain.

The authority of treaties of ceſſion.

3. By the adoption of Joan I. the ſecond branch of the houſe of Anjou obtained only the county of Provence. After contending with the eldeſt branch of their family about the crown of Naples, they found themſelves unable to defend it againſt the

Teſtament of René and Charles IV. of Anjou.

houſe of Arragon. They fled into France, making from thence various expeditions that were unſucceſsful. René, the grandſon of Lewis I. had no other choice to make than that of Charles his brother's ſon, or that of René of Vaudemont duke of Lorraine, the ſon of his daughter. He preferred the former; and this Charles, titular king of Naples, and count of Provence, dying without children, bequeathed all his rights to Lewis XI. king of France, and father of Charles VIII.

Charles VIII. their heir.

An attentive peruſal of a chapter of Philip Comines (Mém. L. viii. c. 1.) ſuggeſts the following propoſitions, which appear to me inconteſtible. 1. René of Anjou appointed his nephew Charles, and Charles appointed Lewis XI. heirs to all their rights. 2. The king of France acknowledged that theſe princes were not entitled to alter the order of ſucceſſion by their teſtaments. 3. Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. took poſſeſſion of Provence only becauſe it was a male fief; and that the male line being extinct, René of Vaudemont could not have any legitimate claim. 4. Inſtead of diſputing the title of the duke of Lorraine to the kingdom of Naples, where the Salique law was unknown, the court of France ordered its ambaſſadors to eſpouſe his cauſe, and permitted him to lead his company of a hundred lances in the expedition againſt that country. 5. A diſcovery is made of ancient teſtaments of Charles I. and other princes of the houſe of Anjou, by which they irrevocably unite the kingdom of Naples and the county of Provence; but the authenticity of theſe teſtaments was never clearly aſcertained. 6. Charles VIII. con-

René duke of Lorraine, his pretenſions to the crown of Naples.

The court of France at firſt acknowledges them.

The ſubſequent diſpute founded on old teſtaments.

cluded, that becauſe he was count of Provence by the teſtament of Charles IV. of Anjou, failing his male iſſue, he therefore alſo became lawful king of Naples. From this time, there was no longer any mention of the rights of the duke of Lorraine. Yet this duke, ſo much deſpiſed, might ſurely have aſked, ſince the two ſtates were to be ſubject to the ſame law of ſucceſſion, why the county ought to ſerve as a rule for the kingdom, rather than the kingdom for the county? Would it not have been more conſiſtent with juſtice to reject the Salique law in aſcertaining the ſucceſſion to Provence, becauſe that law was unknown in Naples, than to introduce a new law at Naples becauſe it was admitted in Provence?

Whether the Salique law ought to have been rejected in Provence, or introduced at Naples.

But we need only adopt a maxim of Father Daniel, to terminate the controverſy at once. The duke of Lorraine had not force to maintain his right; the king of France had; and this force entitled him to a preference. Yet I know not whether we can juſtly adopt a maxim, which may be thus expreſſed in general terms. "If a lawful heir cannot maintain his pretenſions, they become of courſe extinct; and the next perſon in the order of ſucceſſion may aſſume his place, aſſert and obtain the inheritance for himſelf and his poſterity."

Maxim of Father Daniel explained.

Such are the principal titles of the houſes of Anjou and Arragon to the crown of Naples. It belongs to the reader to pronounce ſentence; after firſt caſting his eye on ſome other rights of both parties, too weak or uncertain to merit a long diſcuſſion. 1. The houſe of France might aſſert that by the pope's in-

Other titles of both houſes.

The act of inveſtiture of Charles I.

veſtiture of Charles I. the rights of that prince devolved to the family of Anjou. I pretend not to decide. The monk who prepared that act with ſcholaſtic formality, ſucceeded ſo well in perplexing it, that I cannot perceive whether thoſe rights returned thereby to the pope, or deſcended to the family of Bourbon or to that of Valois.

Right of conqueſt.

2. The right of conqueſt; an odious right, fit only to make illuſtrious criminals, which alternately favored both parties.

Right of adoption by queen Joan II.

3. The right of adoption by queen Joan II. But as ſhe ſucceſſively adopted Lewis of Anjou and Alphonzo of Arragon, the one of thoſe quantities, to ſpeak in the language of algebra, deſtroys the other.

Right of poſſeſſion.

4. The right of poſſeſſion. The houſe of Arragon enjoyed it ſixty years. Yet the houſe of Anjou had never relinquiſhed its pretenſions; but, on the contrary, ſeized every opportunity of aſſerting them.

Title ariſing from the people's conſent.

6. The conſent of the ſubjects, the faireſt of all titles. The princes of the houſe of Arragon might alledge the univerſal obedience paid to their authority; but, according to the oppoſite party, the cruelties exerciſed by that houſe, and the murmurs of the people, clearly proved their obedience to be involuntary.

The only title not liable to objection.

The right of conqueſt is only made for wild beaſts. The laws of ſucceſſion, though well contrived in themſelves, are deſtitute of fixed principles. The only title not liable to objection, is the conſenting voice of a free people.

Hints of ſome Subjects fit for Hiſtory.

Camp, near Winchester, 26 July 1761.

I WOULD deſpiſe an author regardleſs of the benefit of his readers: I would admire him who, ſolely attentive to this benefit, ſhould be totally indifferent to this own fame. I ſtand in neither of theſe predicaments. My own inclination, as well as the taſte of the preſent age, have made me decide in favor of hiſtory. Convinced of its merit, my reaſon cannot bluſh at the choice. But this is not all. Am I worthy of purſuing a walk of literature, which Tacitus thought worthy of him, and of which Pliny doubted whether he was himſelf worthy [11]? The part of a hiſtorian is as honorable as that of a mere chronicler or compiler of gazettes is contemptible. For which taſk I am fit, it is impoſſible to know, until I have tried my ſtrength; and to make the experiment, I ought ſoon to chuſe ſome ſubject of hiſtory, which may do me credit, if well treated; and whoſe importance, even though my work ſhould be unſucceſsful, may conſole me for employing too much time in a ſpecies of compoſition for which I was not well qualified. I proceed therefore to review ſome ſubjects for hiſtory; to indicate their advantages and defects; and to point out that ſubject which I may think fit to prefer.

The hiſtory of Richard I. of England, and his cruſade againſt the Saracens, is alluring by the marvellous. A king of England fighting at the head of an allied army of Engliſh and French under the walls of Aſcalon! There are good materials for executing

The hiſtory of Richard I. of England's cruſade againſt the Saracens.

ſuch an undertaking. Without ſpeaking of the general chronicles, we know two contemporary and accurate hiſtorians; and what is of great importance to a lover of truth, the one a Chriſtian, and the other a Mahomedan; I mean William of Tyre, and the Arabian whoſe hiſtory of Saladin is tranſlated by Mr. Schultens. Two monkiſh authors, at leaſt, have left particular deſcriptions of this cruſade; and other two monks have celebrated it in hiſtorical poems. But, on the other hand, this Richard was a fit hero only for monks. With the ferocity of a gladiator, he united the cruelty of a tyrant; and both were unſucceſsfully employed in a cauſe where ſuperſtition ſilenced religion, juſtice, and policy; and againſt one of the moſt accompliſhed princes in hiſtory. How little are we intereſted in the exploits of Richard! Beſides, this tranſaction is too remote, and too deeply buried in the darkneſs of the middle ages, to attract much notice at preſent.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL.

1763. February. HAVING left England, it is fit that I should leave off Engliſh. Ideas create words; and there would be as much difficulty in expreſſing continental cuſtoms in good Engliſh, as there would be in deſcribing in pure French the manners of England, and the minute tranſactions of our regiment of militia. Inſtead of being obliged to write an imperfect tranſlation, or a tireſome paraphraſe, it is better at once to have recourſe to the language of the country.

But I muſt renounce the deſign of a regular and minute journal, of which I flattered myſelf with the plan, but of which I ſhould find the conſtraint too great on my natural lazineſs, to continue the execution. I had interrupted my labors for a few days; this little negligence might be ſo eaſily repaired! but theſe days have imperceptibly become weeks. The more I had to do, I was the more reluctant to begin the work. The time ſtill left to me was ſpent in uſeleſs regret; and now that I ought to write my hiſtory for ſix months, reaſon tells me that I muſt no longer think of the undertaking.

But the ſame reaſon enjoins me not entirely to neglect the moſt curious occurrences, perhaps, of my whole life. I ſhall collect, therefore, not in the order of time, but according to the diſtribution of ſubjects, the new ideas which I acquired during my reſidence in Paris. Theſe ſubjects may be arranged under the following heads: 1. My own perſonal

concerns; expenſes, connexions, friends. 2. The ſtate of literature in France, the men of letters, academies, theatres. 3. Detached obſervations; military, political, and moral. 4. The public buildings and works of art. — I will allow, however, ſome pages of my journal, which were written at the time, to remain in their original ſtate; — a vain undertaking, forſaken almoſt as ſoon as begun.

Lauſanne, Auguſt 17th, 1763.] — I wrote a ſmall part of my diſcourſe on the ancient nations of Italy; ſmall indeed, for a whole morning ſpent in the country. But of late I ſcarcely do any thing. My trifling avocations in town, the continual buſtle at Meſery's, and the frequent removals from the one to the other, produce greater diſtraction of thought at Lauſanne, than I ever experienced in London or Paris. I muſt ſeriouſly reſume my labors.

18.] — I read *the third Satire of Juvenal*, conſiſting of three hundred and twenty-two verſes. How judiciouſly does it ſet out! The honeſt Umbricius ſtops in the wood of Egeria, a ſacred monument of the primitive Romans, but then inhabited by wretched Jews, to complain to Numa of the luxury of foreign manners, which had overflowed a nation whom he had inſtructed in laws and religion. The awkward meanneſs of the Romans, oppoſed to the addreſs and ſuppleneſs of the Greeks, who made themſelves ſlaves to become maſters, forms a ſtriking contraſt. After ſuch a beautiful picture, Juvenal, I think, would have done better not to have dwelt ſo long on the little inconveniences and diſorders common to all great cities, and which are unworthy of

exciting the ſerious indignation which he expreſſes againſt them.

Auguſt. 20.] — I read, for the firſt time, *the fourth Satire of Juvenal.*

24.] — I read *the fourth Satire of Juvenal*, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty-four verſes, for the ſecond time. The council of Domitian is, perhaps, the moſt ſtriking paſſage of ſatire to be met with in any ancient author. This ſubject perfectly ſuited our poet's genius; that ſerioufneſs of indignation, and that energy of expreſſion of which he is ſometimes too laviſh, are here in their proper place; and they forcibly impreſs on the reader's mind that deteſtation for the tyrant, and contempt for the Romans, which both ſo richly merited. Unfortunately this piece is left unfiniſhed. After having deſcribed the principal counſellors with the pen of Salluſt, the very moment they ought to begin their deliberation, the principal perſonage diſappears, the poet's fire extinguiſhes, and the end of the piece is mangled. I alſo read, twice, *the fifth ſatire*, conſiſting of one hundred and ſeventy-three verſes. How groſs were the manners of the Romans amidſt all their luxury! The moſt inſolent financier would not now venture to make ſuch humiliating diſtinctions among his gueſts. At Rome, the elegant Pliny conſiders his being diſguſted with them almoſt as a merit in himſelf [1]. How different were the characters of Horace and Juvenal, although both ſons of freedmen! The latter diſdained to bend to the pride of the great; and the former, while he cured them of that pride, lived with them not as a paraſite, but as a friend.

Auguſt 25.] — I read, for the firſt time, *the ſixth Satire of Juvenal*, conſiſting of ſix hundred and ſixty verſes; and finiſhed *the thirteenth volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée*. It contains extracts from many excellent works; ſuch as *Cudworth's Intellectual Syſtem, tranſlated by Moſheim*; *Sale's Alcoran*, &c. *Critical Hiſtories of Manicheiſm, and of the French Monarchy, by Mr. Beauſobre and the Abbé Dubos*. Theſe extracts are rather ſuperficial; but the *Hiſtory of the Roman Law, by Heineccius*, is highly intereſting for thoſe who conſider juriſprudence only in its relation to general literature.

Auguſt 26.] — I read over again the firſt hundred and ſixty verſes of *the ſixth Satire of Juvenal*. After breakfaſt I went to the library, to conſult *Mr. Bochart's Treatiſe on the Worſhip of the Egyptian Divinities at Rome*, ſo often mentioned by Juvenal. It is to be found in the Neufchatel-Mercury for the year 1742. This treatiſe is merely a hypotheſis, and that very chimerical; namely, that the worſhip of theſe divinities was brought from Egypt to Greece, and from Greece to Italy, by colonies eſtabliſhed in that country long before the age of Romulus. I conſulted the firſt volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, p. 140. concerning the ſignification of the word *Attonitæ* in *the fourth Satire of Juvenal*, v. 77. Mr. Valois applies it to the aſtoniſhment which prevailed in the capital, in conſequence of the revolt of L. Antonius in Lower Germany. This conjecture is poſſible, which is all that can be ſaid of it. But I am ſurpriſed that he had not drawn from it the only concluſion that could render it intereſting. Antonius's revolt

revolt happened in the year of Rome 840 [1]. The excessive tyranny of Domitian had then reached its meridian; yet the baseness of the Romans endured this monster still nine years longer. I read the *fourteenth volume of the Bibliothéque Raisonnée*. It contains *Syntagma Dissertationum*, &c. *Leipsick*, 1733: a good collection, by Mosheim; which, however, savours too much of the Theologian, and even of the Lutheran. *Plinii Epistolæ à Cortio, cum notis variorum: Amstel.* 1734: a very good edition. *Itineraria Vetera à Wesselingio, Amstel*, 1735: a most excellent edition of one of the most useful works we have, on the *Geography of the Roman Empire*.

August 27.] — I read, for the second time, *the Sixth Satire of Juvenal*, — the source of all the invectives that have for sixteen centuries been accumulated against the sex. Nothing can be added to its force, richness, and variety; but some things perhaps might be retrenched from those too faithful descriptions, which, while they condemn vice, are apt to inspire vicious passions. Yet those wretches — are they entitled to escape infamy through the excess of their guilt? Ought their profligacy to be concealed from posterity, because they carried it to an immeasurable height? Juvenal has even been reproached with gratifying, in such descriptions, the pruriency of his own fancy. Yet the horror which he uniformly testifies at the disorders which he describes, will always persuade me, that his warmth proceeds, not from the flames of voluptuousness, but from the fire of indignation and genius. Instead of licentiousness of morals, which inclined him to pardon vice, I would

rather reproach him with a malignity of heart, which made him think the corruption general. He perpetually confounds invective with ſatire. All women are guilty, and guilty of the moſt enormous crimes. You may find a Clytemneſtra in every ſtreet *. I know that there never, perhaps, was an age more profligate than that of Juvenal; in which morals were enervated by luxury; the heart hardened by the inſtitutions of domeſtic ſlavery and the amphitheatre; ſentiments debaſed by the tyranny of government; and every characteriſtic and manly principle ſubverted, by the mixture and confuſion of nations in one great city. Yet, there ſtill remained many veſtiges of the ancient virtues; and women, as well as men, worthy of living in a better age. If we conſult Pliny's Epiſtles, a cotemporary monument, we ſhall find in the circle of that amiable Roman, humanity, morals, the love of talents and of merit. Juvenal never allows himſelf to beſtow the ſmalleſt praiſe on virtuous characters †, even with the view of rendering the vicious more ugly by the contraſt. All the other ſatiriſts, Horace, Boileau, Pope, have taken care to recommend themſelves to their readers as the friends of virtue and of man; and as ſuch, have perhaps, of all poets, moſt gained our love. But Juvenal ſeems to have a rooted hatred to his ſpecies; and, having declared againſt them open war, is totally regardleſs of their friendſhip. This miſanthropy, indeed, muſt render his works peculiarly acceptable to human malignity.

Auguſt 28.] — I read twice *the ſeventh Satire of Juvenal;* in which the poet deſcribes, with [illegible]

rdinary ſpirit, the poverty and contempt attending e men of letters of his times. The ſubject is always diſagreeable one; ſince it is more eaſy to render a aracter amiable, which happens to be the object public hatred, than to render thoſe reſpectable, ho are the objects of a general, though unjuſt, ntempt: beſides, thoſe continual complaints ſpecting the bad ſtate of their fortune, come with culiar diſadvantage from men of letters. We knowledge their murmurs to be juſt, but they ways ſtrike us with an idea of avidity and meanneſs, tremely inconſiſtent with the elevation which we pect from their characters. If wit conſiſts in finding tween ideas, relations that are natural without being vious, the contraſt of the poet and the lion ſurely ſerves that name; it is one of the wittieſt poſſible. iniſhed *the fifteenth volume of the Bibliothéque iſonnée.* It contains *a ſecond extract from Heineccius,* plaining the hiſtory of the German law; a ſubject s intereſting, indeed, than that of the Roman law, t equally well treated. *Critical Reflections on Ancient tions, by Mr. Fourmont the elder.* Becauſe a man under- nds the Chineſe, is he, therefore, entitled to tell us ſurdities, with the authority of an oracle? Saturn ſame with Abraham! The great divinity of the gans the ſame with a wandering patriarch: and ored after his death almoſt by the whole world, cept his own poſterity; and that poſterity an object abhorrence and contempt to all his adorers! *The life Julian,* written by my friend *the Abbé de la Bleterie.* e journaliſts are inſenſible to the merit, both of hero and the hiſtorian; and even indulge them-

ſelves in making very unbecoming reflections with reſpect to both. In general, the bitterneſs of zeal and controverſy prevails too much in this *Bibliothèque*. When a father Colonia invites the faithful to the jubilee of Lyons, he is beſt anſwered with ſilent contempt; yet ridicule may be uſed againſt him without blame. But in giving the analyſis of a work of literature or hiſtory, to bring forward opinions and reaſonings ſuitable merely to the country of the reader, with a view to refute them tediouſly and ill-naturedly, is ſurely to miſtake the buſineſs of a critical journal. — I wrote two pages of my *collection on the ancient geography of Italy.*

Auguſt 29th.] — I read, for the firſt time, the *eighth Satire of Juvenal*, containing 275 verſes.

30.] — I did nothing but write a page and a half of my collection.

31.]—I read over again the *eighth Satire of Juvenal*. I alſo twice read the ninth, containing 150 verſes; and, for the firſt time, the firſt hundred verſes of the *tenth*. How humiliating it is for mankind, that they muſt be taught, almoſt in all countries, that they are more reſpectable for their own virtues, than for thoſe of their anceſtors! The origin and eſtabliſhment of this prejudice is ſcarcely conceivable. Nature draws an indelible diſtinction between thoſe to whom ſhe has given talents, and thoſe from whom ſhe has with-held them. The ſubordination of citizens to the magiſtrates is founded on fear and reaſon; but what was the principle that originally eſtabliſhed the diſtinction of noble and plebeian? I think it was religion. This queſtion would require to be examined

t great length, and the examination of it would be urious. I ſhall be contented with making a ſingle bſervation on this ſatire. 1. Juvenal ſpeaks, from ne end of it to the other, the language of an ancient Roman. We perceive throughout, not only the lignity of a true cenſor, who arraigns vice, expoſes olly, and appals guilt, but the ſoul of a republican, eluctantly bending under the new conſtitution, the worn enemy of tyranny, and the friend of a mild nd equitable monarchy, rather through neceſſity han inclination. This love of liberty, and loftineſs f mind, diſtinguiſhes Juvenal from all the poets who ived after the eſtabliſhment of the monarchy. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, all ſing the ruin of their country, and the riumph of its oppreſſors. The vices of a Nero and a Domitian are commemorated in as lofty notes of raiſe, as the virtues of Auguſtus and Veſpaſian. uvenal alone never proſtitutes his muſe. In his works, here is but one example of praiſe beſtowed on the mperor; a praiſe perhaps juſt, expreſſed with the reateſt ſimplicity, and included in a ſingle verſe. But he never loſes an opportunity of arraigning the olly and tyranny of thoſe maſters of the world and heir deputies. He does more; he teaches how the vils inflicted by them may be cured.

Tollas licet, omne quod uſquam eſt,
Auri atque argenti, ſcutum gladiumque relinques
Et jaculum & galeam; ſpoliatis arma ſuperſunt—

an advice addreſſed fully as much to the Romans s to the Africans. Juvenal's liberty of ſpeech fixes

the time in which he lived far better than the uncertain and contradictory reports of an old ſcholiaſt. He lived under a good prince, a Nerva or a Trajan, at a happy period when his ſentiments might be expreſſed without diſguiſe. Tyrants had the niceſt ſenſibility; they eaſily knew their own pictures in thoſe of their predeceſſors. Domitian reaſonably concluded, that an enemy to Nero could not be his friend; an informer would have ſilenced Juvenal after his firſt ſatire. But I ſuſpect that he never run that riſk Men, diſtinguiſhed by vigor of mind and elevation of genius, found no other means of eſcaping the fatal ſuſpicion of tyrants, than by concealing themſelves in ſilence and obſcurity, confining their application to innocent and frivolous purſuits. — The ninth Satire of Juvenal is diſguſting by its ſubject. The vice which the poet condemns is exhibited without diſguiſe. The ridicule of the ſatire appears to me to ariſe from the character of Nævolus, a miſerable *catamite*, whoſe principles are ſo much debaſed by his way of life, that he has loſt all ſenſe of its infamy, and relates his ſervices with the ſame air of indifference that a ſoldier would deſcribe his campaigns. This gravity, which the reader perceives to be ſo much out of place, and which Nævolus does not, produces, in my opinion the whole humor of the piece.

September 1.] — I read a ſecond time the tenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—365, the end; and the eleventh, conſiſting of 208 verſes, for the firſt time. In the tenth, Juvenal treats a ſubject worthy of himſelf; the vanity of human wiſhes, a misfortune

conſiſtent with the greateſt virtues, and intimately connected with the moſt natural ſentiments of the heart. The poet every where employs a refined and accurate philoſophy, founded on the ſtricteſt principles of moral ſcience. His genius riſes with his ſubject; he ſhows the nothingneſs of falſe grandeur, and weighs, with the ſublime indifference of a ſuperior being, the virtues, talents, and deſtiny, of the greateſt men. He here neglects, and ſeems even to diſdain, the beauty of verſification, and that ſweet and charming harmony of which he was ſo great a maſter. His ſtyle, preciſe, energetic, lofty, and enriched with images, flows in a rougher ſtream than in his other pieces. Taking experience for his guide, his reaſonings are mixed with examples, of which the greater part are choſen with exquiſite judgment. That of Sejanus is a maſter-piece: never was any elevation more extraordinary than his, nor any fall more dreadful. The levity of the people, who were in haſte to break his ſtatues, which they had juſt worſhipped, is a finiſhed picture of popular inconſtancy. The example of the death of Alexander, ſeems to me to be choſen with leſs diſcernment than the reſt. *His* misfortune conſiſted in being cut off in the midſt of his ſucceſs and glory. Yet had Marius died as he deſcended from his triumphal car, he would have been deemed the happieſt of mortals. The reaſoning in this ſatire would have been clearer, had Juvenal diſtinguiſhed between thoſe wiſhes, the accompliſhment of which could not fail to make us miſerable, and thoſe whoſe accompliſhment might fail to make us happy. Abſolute power is of the firſt

kind; long life of the ſecond. The latter we may ſafely commit to the providence of the gods; but our own reaſon my teach us to pray, that they would refuſe to us the former. With regard to the gods, I remark that inconſtancy of opinion in Juvenal, which is ſo frequent among the ancients. At one moment nothing can be more pious than his faith, or more philoſophical than his ſubmiſſion. The next, our own wiſdom ſuffices, and prudence uſurps the thrones of all the divinities. In the following verſe his devotion again gets the aſcendency: he limits his general aſſertion to fortune only, and replaces all the other gods in Olympus.

September 2.] — I finiſhed *the fourteenth volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Foſter's Sermons.* Wonderful! a divine preferring reaſon to faith, and more afraid of vice than of hereſy. *Scriptores Rei Ruſticæ á Geſnero.* The authors may be uſeful for inſtructing us in the language and rural economy of the Romans; but where is the ſtudent that reads, or the farmer who puts in practice, their leſſons? *Notitia Hungariæ, vol. 1. per Math. Ball:* an immenſe work, but too minutely circumſtantial for any but Hungarians. *The Panegyric of Mr. Le Clerc:* a dry but accurate work of the Reviewer. *The Council of Trent, by Father Paul, tranſlated by Father Courayer; firſt extract.* We might wiſh the tranſlator more vigor of underſtanding; but in his preface he diſplays all the candor, impartiality, and toleration, that can poſſibly be deſired.

3.] — I read a ſecond time the eleventh Satire of Juvenal: I read the firſt 100 verſes a third time: and

also the twelfth Satire, consisting of 130 verses. In the eleventh, Juvenal takes an opportunity, in inviting his friend to supper, to contrast, with much sprightliness, the extravagant luxury of his contemporaries with the simple and coarse fare of ancient dictators. He makes us clearly perceive, without formally expressing it, how universal, and almost necessary, the elegance of the table was become in his time, since a poor philosopher like himself prepared for his friend a supper, very inferior indeed to the feasts of Ventidius, but far superior to those of Curius. This entertainment was to be graced by simplicity, neatness, and decent amusements only. Juvenal possessed justness of understanding, and honesty of heart; but his character was deficient in point of sweetness and sensibility. He has neglected an opportunity of expressing those sentiments, which one friend, when he feels them, is always ready to pour into the bosom of another. The free and philosophical conversation which the confidence of friendship inspires and warrants, is but ill supplied at his supper by the reading of Homer. Horace took care not to forget, in his charming picture of an entertainment distant and uncertain, those amiable feelings with which the near reality of a similar repast does not inspire Juvenal. Here, however, I would make a distinction between this satirist and Boileau. Neither of them were endowed with tenderness of sentiment. But this defect in Boileau proceeded from a coldness of heart and fancy, which rendered him but little susceptible of any passion whatever. Juvenal's heart and fancy were both of them ardent; but their warmth

exhauſted itſelf in paſſions ſtrong, dark, and elevated, not in affections which are amiable and tender.

September 4.]—I did nothing but finiſh the twelfth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—130, the end. This performance ſhows the author's genius for ſatire, but alſo that it was the only kind of genius with which he was endowed. In this piece, he certainly did not at firſt intend writing a ſatire, but only to congratulate one of his friends, who had been ſaved from a dreadful ſhipwreck. After employing, on this ſubject, two thirds of the poem, he is at once diverted from it, by recollecting that his friend, for whoſe ſafety he is to offer ſo many ſacrifices, has three children. This conduct in himſelf ſtrikes him as totally oppoſite to that of the *teſtament-hunters*, with whom Rome abounded, and whoſe attentions were ſolely beſtowed on rich people who were childleſs. He forgets his friend, for the pleaſure of expoſing thoſe knaves. The lively picture which he draws of them, is far ſuperior to his deſcription of the tempeſt, which is tedious, languid, confuſed, diſgraced by declamation and even by puerility.

I finiſhed *the ſeventeenth volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains the *ſecond and third extract from Father Paul's Council of Trent, tranſlated by Father Courayer.* It ſhould ſeem as if the ſoul of the illuſtrious Servite animated the regular Canon: the ſame talents, virtues, and even weakneſſes, are common to both. This work is a beautiful monument of the hiſtory of religion, the moſt curious part of the hiſtory of the human mind, for thoſe who can ſoar above the prejudices of ſects and parties. *De verbis ambiguis*

Reitzio. A good design, ill executed. *A Dissertation on Suicide, by Robeck.* The author threw himself into the Elbe. It is impossible to doubt his sincerity, which far surpassed his understanding.

September 5.] — I wrote above a page of my collection, and read the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, consisting of 249 verses.

6.] — I read a second time, the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, and the fourteenth, consisting of 331 verses, for the first time. In the first, the poet offers consolation to a friend, who had been defrauded of ten thousand sesterces, by a knave, who denied the deposit of that sum. In this satire, a divine might find new proofs of the uncertainty of the Pagans respecting a Providence and a future state. The poet speaks almost divinely of the torments of a guilty conscience; of its horrid remorse for having violated the laws of justice; and of the dreadful sufferings of him who bears his punishment always in his own heart. His dreams appal him with the most frightful images; and the pain of every calamity that befals him, is heightened by his regarding it as a punishment. But he does not decide whether these terrors rest on any solid foundation. Wickedness and misery are associated in the fancy; but does reason prove that there is a necessary connexion between them? Juvenal does not consider this question, any more than the punishments of the wicked in another life. He mentions this but once, and then contemptuously. Having exhausted his whole eloquence in describing the punishments of vice, he thinks none so powerful and efficacious as that inflicted by the magistrates, with

which he concludes. Yet Juvenal had never imbibed the impious philoſophy of the Greeks; he was an old Roman, who hearkened to Cato rather than to Chryſippus; and who ſincerely venerated the divinity, though he was inclined to laugh at the polytheiſm of his fellow-citizens.

September 7.] — I finiſhed *the eighteenth volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains the letters of Leibnitz. This univerſal genius here appears as a theologian. As a philoſopher, could Leibnitz really hope that an union might be effected among religions? *Vitæ Servii Sulpicii & P. Alpheni.* The life of the firſt of theſe lawyers is as intereſting, as that of the ſecond is the reverſe. It is written by Everard Otto. *Heineccii Opuſcula.* Among theſe diſſertations, that concerning the dreſs of the firſt Chriſtians is learned and curious. *Catonis Diſticha.* After having read the proofs brought by M. Carnegzieter, it is impoſſible to doubt that Dionyſius Cato was a Pagan who lived before the age of Conſtantine. It was not neceſſary, ſurely, to be a Chriſtian, to be able to retail in the loweſt ſtyle, maxims of the plaineſt common ſenſe.

September 8.] — I wrote two pages of my collection, and read over again the fourteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1—106.

9.] — The firſt volume of *the Letters of Baron Bielfeld* having accidentally fallen into my hands, engaged and amuſed me. I was pleaſed with his deſcription of Berlin, Potſdam, and Hanover. The life led by the King of Pruſſia, in his retreat, is well ſketched. We behold the morning of a beautiful day; but as there are no preſages of the tempeſt, the

ſcture is a little too flattering. As to Homer and ngland, the Baron is juſt as well acquainted with he one as with the other.

13.] — I finiſhed *the nineteenth volume of the ibliothéque Raiſonnée*: it contains *the fourteenth and ſt extract from Father Paul's Hiſtory of the Council of rent, tranſlated by Courayer.* The refined policy of he Houſe of Auſtria has always known how to avail ſelf of that ſuperſtition of which other nations have een the victims. Auſtria, in particular, rejected the uthority of the Council of Trent, which ſhe had ppeared to admit moſt reſpectfully. *Cæſar's Comentaries, by Oudendorp:* a good and bulky edition. *houghts and Theological Diſſertations, by Alphonſo urretin:* a weak reaſoner, but a good writer. The *iracles of Abbé Paris, by Montgeron.* This fanaticiſm f the Janſeniſts is one of thoſe epidemic maladies of he human mind, which deſerves much attention.

September 16.] — I had a little neglected Juvenal. o-day I read, for the ſecond time, the fourteenth atire, v. 106—331, the end; and, for the firſt time, he fifteenth Satire, v. 1—174. There are ſatires more greeable than the fourteenth; there are others in hich the poet takes a loftier flight; but there are one in which he ſo much diſplays his genius for hiloſophy, the art of connecting his ideas, his reciſion, and brevity. His brevity reſembles not hat ſo common among writers of the preſent age, ho often ſtrangle a thought in hopes of ſtrengthen-g it; and who applaud their own ſkill, when they ave ſhown to us, in a few abſurd words, the fourth art of an idea: it is the brevity of Tacitus and

Monteſquieu, which, after retrenching whatever is ſuperfluous or unneceſſary, includes the principal thought in a preciſe and vigorous expreſſion. By ſelecting the moſt characteriſtic circumſtances, the poet ſets before your eyes, in five lines, (v. 166—171,) the ſimplicity of the ancient Romans, their love of labor, their domeſtic happineſs, the fruitfulneſs of their wives, their ſober diet, and their averſion to being ſerved by a multitude of foreign ſlaves. Throughout the whole of this ſatire, the texture is ſkilfully combined; the thoughts either riſing immediately the one from the other, or the tranſitions being ſo natural, that they are almoſt imperceptible. How juſtly and artfully does the poet deſcribe the progreſs of avarice in the human heart? tracing it from its origin, in ſordid parſimony, to mean contrivances for gain; and from thence to injuſtice, violence, and the greateſt crimes. The father who firſt inſpired into his ſon this miſerable paſſion, vainly ſtruggles to check his flagitious career; and after being long the aſtoniſhed ſpectator of his crimes, ſometimes becomes their victim.

Trepidumque Magiſtrum
In cavea magno fremitû, leo tollet alumnus;

is an image equally bold and impreſſive. This maſter of the lion had exaſperated his natural ferocity, in order to render him more deſerving the attention of the amphitheatre.

September 17] I read the fifteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1—174, the ſecond time; and alſo read the ſixteenth and laſt Satire. In the firſt of theſe Juvenal

preſſes, undiſguiſed, his hatred againſt the gyptian nation and religion. This does not at all rpriſe me. As a man of good ſenſe, Juvenal deſpiſed e abſurdities of this worſhip; he ſaw how much introduction into Rome had corrupted the morals his fellow-citizens; and perceived that thoſe owded aſſemblies, in which the diſtinctions of age, nk, and ſex were concealed and confounded, under e veil of night and myſtery, opened a door to the oſt abominable debauchery, at the ſame time that e Egyptian prophets and fortune-tellers taught omen and children to calculate, and ſometimes to ſten, the deaths of their fathers and huſbands. His wn baniſhment into a country which was the object his contempt or deteſtation, naturally ſharpened s animoſity, and carried his reſentment to the moſt pitch. I only wiſh that he had reſtrained it ithin the bounds of juſtice. In a tumult excited by perſtition, the Egyptians devoured the fleſh of one their fallen enemies. From this horrid action it was t fair to conclude, that the Egyptians equalled in rbarity the Cyclops and the Leſtrigons. The ench treated with equal brutality Maréchal d'Ancre, d the Dutch Penſionary de Witt. The fixed and rmanent character of a people, ought never to be ferred from moments of madneſs and fury. The et alſo too much indulges his talent for declama-on. Inſtead of aggravating the crime of the gyptians, he in reality leſſens it by his unſeaſonable aſonings, his example of the *Vaſcones*, &c. He who olates the principles of Zeno may be worthy of ame; but the monſter who inſults the dictates of

nature can alone excite horror. The genius of our poet is clearly displayed in the witty description of the worship which the Egyptians paid to animals; in the origin of society, founded on those principles of benevolence, which are implanted by nature in the heart of man only; and in that dreadful, though beautiful picture of the ferocity of an Egyptian.

The sixteenth Satire is not clearly proved to be Juvenal's. It is written weakly, and negligently; but I think we may recognise the master's hand in v. 55. This satire, however, is of considerable importance in history. It has not been sufficiently remarked to what extent the privileges of soldiers were carried under the emperors. In moments of sedition, it was manifest, they overturned their thrones; but it was not known that in time of peace they shared their sovereignty. I know not of a bolder enterprise, in any small portion of a community, than that of withdrawing itself from the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates, and insisting that its differences, even with the other classes of citizens, should be decided by its own judges. The clergy obtained these privileges in the dark ages; but such pretensions seem to have been more excusable in a body, which was believed to possess all the virtues, and which really possessed all the learning of the time, than they could possibly be in the Roman soldier, whose ignorance, grossness of manners, despotic and military maxims, removed them to so great a distance from the character belonging to a judge.

I finished Juvenal, whom I regret not being earlier acquainted with; and who, in future, will be one of

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

f my favorite authors. Having written my obſerva-
ons on him, as they occurred in reading his Satires,
have but little to add on the ſubject; and ſhall
nfine myſelf to two remarks: the firſt, as to the
me in which he lived; the ſecond, concerning his
rſification. 1ſt, There is not any Latin poet con-
rning whom we have ſo little information; whether
om pride or modeſty, he has neglected to tell us
ther the time of his birth, or the circumſtances of
s life. None of his works were written in comme-
oration of any great event, which might have
ertained their date. It ſeems as if he had taken a
aſure in perplexing us, by often ſpeaking of many
rſons as his contemporaries who lived at very
ferent periods of time. There remain but a few
ords of an old life of Juvenal, written by an
known author; which life augments our uncer-
nty, by its oppoſition to the cleareſt inferences
m the poet's own works. According to that
grapher and his ſcholiaſt, Juvenal lived under
ro, who baniſhed him to Egypt, were he died
n afterwards. Yet it is certain that he ſurvived
mitian; that he witneſſed the condemnation of
rius Priſcus; that Martial, who did not retire
o Spain until the reign of Trajan, left him at Rome;
from the date of a conſulſhip, there is reaſon to
pect, that he was in Egypt in the third year of the
n of Adrian. All the eras perfectly correſpond
h the ſyſtem of the learned Dodwell, who thinks
our poet was baniſhed by the laſt named emperor.
e time ago, I read Dodwell's work, *the Quinti-*
Annals. I have not the book at hand, and cannot

recollect the proofs which he brings; but I can see several probabilities tending to support his opinion. 2. Juvenal's verſification appears to me to be ſuperior to that of moſt of the Latin poets. Managed by him, the Roman language loſes all its roughneſs. His verſes are flowing, harmonious, and animated; although he never ſacrifices the ſenſe to the ſound. I ſhould fancy that the lines flowed ſpontaneouſly from his pen, did I not perceive, amidſt a multitude of fine ones, ſome few that are diſguſting, by their rudeneſs or their languor. To have allowed them to paſs uncorrected, a poet muſt have been extremely inattentive to his verſification; ſince they might have been mended ſo eaſily. I remark alſo, that his poetry is more ſparing of ornament in his laſt ſatires. If they are placed in chronological order, this difference may be eaſily accounted for.

As the Satire of Sulpitia, on the baniſhment of the philoſophers, is printed with the Satires of Juvenal, I had an inclination to examine it; and therefore read it twice over, v. 1—70. The praiſes beſtowed by Martial had prepoſſeſſed me in favor of this lady; but in my opinion, thoſe praiſes were not her due. Her genius, perhaps, was too feeble to ſupport her in this lofty flight; but was better adapted to ſubjects that required only taſte, ſpirit, and ſenſibility. The epigrammatiſt, perhaps, had as little delicacy in his praiſe as in his ſatire; and was careleſsly prodigal of his flattery to a woman of faſhion, whoſe houſe was the reſort of men of letters. 1. The work is without method or plan; and the beauty of the ſubject is deſtroyed by her manner of treating it. Inſtead

lamenting that the throne of ignorance ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the ruins of philoſophy and the arts, wenty-three lines of a poem conſiſting of ſeventy, re conſumed in an invocation and concluſion, which nform us of nothing, except that Sulpitia was a woman of great vanity and affectation: and were it not or eight verſes caſually inſerted in the middle of the atire*, I ſhould not be able to gueſs its ſubject, as ſtill am at a loſs to diſcover the meaning and uſe of he digreſſion, where ſhe examines whether proſperity r adverſity were moſt uſeful to the republic. 2. As to he ſtyle and poetry, it is the misfortune of Sulpitia, hat ſhe has not left room for criticiſing faults, that roceed from genius or fancy. Her work is charac- erized by coldneſs, hardneſs, poverty of invention, ndeneſs of harmony, and a verſification that gratifies either the ear nor the mind. 3. Women have been ccuſed of want of preciſion. In this reſpect Sulpitia oes not belie her ſex. Without mentioning that ſhe onfounds ſcience with wiſdom, as if thoſe two things ad never been diſtinguiſhed, I ſhall only give an xample of the moſt incongruous and abſurd ſimile hat I ever remember to have met with. The philoſo- hers baniſhed by Domitian are compared with the auls expelled by Camillus. It is needleſs to point ut the abſurdity of comparing a body of men of tters with a nation of barbarians, and a legal baniſh- ent with the defeat of an army; and Sulpitia ought have remembered that the Gauls had burnt the y, beſieged the capitol, and that their conqueror, amillus, merited the title of ſecond founder of ome. 4. Juſtice, however, muſt be done to Sulpitia.

Her ſatire is adorned by one ſtriking image. Rome, after all her victories, is repreſented under the figure of the wreſtler Milo, who remained alone in the liſts, vainly expecting an antagoniſt. This image is happily conceived; and clearly, though not forcibly, expreſſed.

September 7.] — I this day began *the deſcription of ancient Rome, by Fabiano Nardini, tranſlated into Latin by Tollius, and inſerted in the fourth volume of Grævius's Roman Antiquities*, which Mr Pavilliard borrowed for me from the public library of Geneva. This work is much valued by the learned; though I perceive that the Abbé Lenglet de Freſnoy ſpeaks lightly of its tranſlation. I read *L. i. C. i, ii. p.* 881—897. Nardini vindicates the account commonly given of the origin of Rome, by arguments very generally known. This is the ſubject of the firſt chapter. The ſecond is very intereſting, ſince it examines the extent of the firſt city, built by Romulus, which comprehended only the Palatine Mount; and when the Sabines took the capitol, this meant the citadel.

September 18.]— I read *Nardini, L. i. C. iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x.* p. 897—945, which terminates the firſt book. A variety of ſubjects are treated with great learning, conſiderable judgment, and a minute accuracy; which is commonly inſtructive, but ſometimes tireſome. Having finiſhed his deſcription of the city built by Romulus, he examines the additions made to it by Tatius, the ally of that king, on the Capitoline Hill; and then proceeds to conſider the form given to it by Servius Tullius, (the leaſt celebrated, but perhaps the greateſt of all its legiſlators

and the wall which bounded the extent of Rome to the reign of Aurelian. This wall he traces with great attention, directed by an exact local knowledge. It reſults from the whole of his obſervations, that the circuit of ancient Rome was ſcarcely ſo conſiderable as that of the modern: a fact which totally overturns the ſyſtems of Lipſius and Voſſius. Nardini is very happy in explaining the famous paſſage of Pliny, which treats of the *twelve* gates; and which ought not to be reckoned more, ſince we learn from two paſſages of Cicero and Livy, that ſeveral of the Roman gates had two arches, called *Jani*; which are ſtill diſtinguiſhable on ancient monuments. Nardini is not equally ſucceſsful in explaining the *Pomœrium.* In ſpite of all his hypotheſes, there are ſtill three propoſitions on this ſubject, which reſt on equally good authority, and are yet contradictory to each other. 1. That the *Pomœrium* was a conſecrated ſlip of ground on both ſides of the walls. 2. That the walls of Rome had the ſame extent from Servius Tullius to Aurelian. 3. That Sylla, Julius Cæſar, and the emperor Claudius, extended the *Pomœrium.*

I this day finiſhed *the twentieth volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée*; which contains *the tranſlation of Diodorus Siculus, by the Abbé Teraſſon.* It is remarkable that a man, who deſpiſed the fineſt writers of antiquity, ſhould have condeſcended to become the tranſlator of a hiſtorian, whoſe accidental utility far ſurpaſſes his real merit. Though this tranſlation be eſteemed, the critic here expoſes many of its errors. *Two editions of Titus Livius, with his ſupplements;*

one by Drakenborch, and the other by Crevier. In the first, the text of Livy is buried under a weight of the commentaries, good or bad, that have been written on that author. The second contains a sensible life of the historian, a judicious selection of the best remarks on his work, and displays as much intelligence as taste on the part of the editor. He includes the first fifteen books, together with his own prolegomena, in 828 pages; whereas the Dutch editor bestows 2159 pages on the first nineteen books, *cum notis variorum.* The latter edition, however, may be considered as a good repertory. *Syntagma Dissertationum ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentium a Mosheimio.* His ecclesiastical dissertations seem to me to have more merit than his theological ones. *The Truth of the Miracles of Mr. Paris; second and third Extract.* The journalist carefully sifts the cure of young Alphonso of Palacios: if none of the miracles was better than this, the Jesuits needed not to have ascribed them to the devil. *La Friponnerie Laique, Lay Fraud, by Dr. Bentley.* An answer to the famous book of Collins, full of learning and scurrility; in the latter of which the author is out-done by his translator and critic.

September 19.]—I read *Nardini, L. ii. C. i, ii, iii,* p. 949—961. After fixing the limits of the city, he describes the seven hills which they included. The reverse of this method would perhaps have been more natural. He explains very clearly the different divisions of the people and of the city, the *tribes* and *curiæ* of Romulus, the *tribes* instituted by Servius, the fourteen regions of Augustus, and the seven regions of the first popes. I wish he had inquired

into the distribution of the *curiæ* after the reign of Servius, and determined whether they were again divided among the *tribes* instituted by that prince; whether the division of the *tribes* by Romulus continued to subsist merely for the purpose of the *comitia curiata*; or whether, after the time of Servius, the division of the people by *curiæ*, had no longer any relation to their division by tribes. The latter opinion appears to me the more probable.

September 20] — I finished *the second book of Nardini, chapters fourth and fifth.* I also read *the third book, C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii.* p. 961—1005. He speaks of the authors who have given us descriptions of Rome; such as Publius Victor, Sextus Rufus, Onuphrius Panvinius, and the *Notitia Imperii.* Their chief utility arises from their having had before their eyes many monuments which are now known only by books. Yet notwithstanding this advantage, their descriptions are so inferior in point of accuracy to those of modern critics, (Nardini for example,) that the latter are continually obliged to correct their mistakes, to supply their defects, and sometimes even to point out their contradictions. After these preliminary matters, Nardini proceeds to describe the fourteen regions of the city; treating minutely, in this part of his work, the first region, or that of the *Porta Capena*; and *the second*, or that of the *Mons Cælius.* We may pronounce his researches in general to be successful. By combining a multitude of passages scattered in ancient authors, both with each other, and with his local knowledge of Rome, he is enabled to ascertain the

ſituation of the greater part, of its monuments. His account of the valley of *Egeria*, which lies on the left of the *Porta Capena*, between the Latin and Appian ways, illuſtrated, much to my ſatisfaction, ſeveral paſſages in Juvenal. He employs the half of a chapter in inveſtigating, the true meaning of the words *domus* and *inſula* and in confuting Lipſius's opinion on that ſubject. Grævius is equally diſſatisfied with the explications of Lipſius and his antagoniſt. If theſe antiquaries, who were better critics than logicians, had been at as much pains to acquire an exact idea of their ſubject, as to heap up citations, I am perſuaded they would eaſily have perceived, 1. That the word *Inſula*, which in its application to the houſes of Rome, was at firſt metaphorical, denoted every edifice that was entirely inſulated, and whoſe walls were completely ſeparated from thoſe of the neighbouring buildings. This primitive ſignification of the word is ſupported both by the nature of the thing and the authority of Feſtus; and we ought not to mix with this eſſential characteriſtic, any acceſſory ideas. 2. Without diſputing that, in the firſt ages of Rome, the number of ſuch edifices was great, we may boldly affirm that it became much greater after the conflagration in the reign of Nero; and that in the age of Conſtantine, buildings called *inſulæ* filled the whole extent of the city. Tacitus informs us of a wiſe regulation made by Nero, forbidding the uſe of walls common to two contiguous houſes, and requiring that the walls of each houſe ſhould be diſtinct and ſeparate from thoſe of the houſes neareſt to it. The *inſulæ* cannot be more accurately defined

than by this deſcription; and we cannot doubt whether the edict was carried into execution, when we read in Publius Victor, that in the fourth century there were 46,000 *inſulæ* in the capital; and that, with the exception of not more than 1800 *domus*, all the dwellings of Rome were comprehended under that name. Since the fact is aſcertained, it is our buſineſs not to conteſt, but to explain it. I will not therefore allledge that the whole city could not have been rebuilt agreeably to Nero's edict, becauſe there was only a part of it conſumed by the conflagration under his reign. As the edict was a wiſe one, it would naturally be perpetuated by his ſucceſſors; and in the ſpace of three hundred years from Nero to Victor, there was time for rebuilding the whole city according to the new plan. The unpleaſing effect of ſo many ſeparate houſes to the eye, ought not to create any difficulty: ſafety is to be preferred to beauty; eſpecially to a beauty dependent on faſhion; ſo that, provided the ſtreets were ſtraight and ſpacious, the eye would be abundantly gratified. 3. This edict regulated only the ſituation of houſes, but left their ſize and ſhape to the diſcretion of each proprietor. Nero's palace and the houſe of an artificer were equally entitled to the appellation of *inſulæ*, provided they had the ſpecific character of ſtanding detached and ſeparate from all other buildings. The number of ſuch *inſulæ* could not be conſiderable. The *great* form but a ſmall proportion of any community; and the expenſe, together with the inconvenience and danger, attending a ſeparate dwelling, incline me to believe that the lower claſſes at Rome were contented with

lodgings; which appears really to have been the case both from Juvenal and Martial. The avaricious industry of man will serve better to convince us than all the passages in ancient authors, that there would be a number of builders, who promoted the beauty of the city and the convenience of its inhabitants, by erecting large edifices, of which the separate apartments were let to different families. This practice, which became general, greatly extended the signification of the word *insulæ*, by connecting with it a new meaning. It began to denote a multitude of families living under the same roof, and therefore a house hired to the lower classes of the people: and in this sense it is taken by Petronius and the writers on the Roman law. 4. From the number of the *insulæ* would it be possible to ascertain that of the inhabitants of Rome? Victor and the *Notitia Imperii* fix the former at 46,602. We learn from Juvenal, that the houses of the Romans consisted commonly of four stories[9]; and if we suppose each story to have lodged a family of six persons, each of the *insulæ* would contain twenty-four inhabitants. Those which were let to hire could not have fewer, and the palaces of the rich would contain a far greater number[10]. This surplus may be divided among the *insulæ* not let to hire, but belonging to those who inhabited them: so that by multiplying the number of *insulæ* by twenty-four, we shall have 1,118,[illegible] for the inhabitants of Rome. I am pleased with this number, which, without passing the bounds of credibility, corresponds with the great extent of the city, and with all that we are told of its popu[illegible]

ſs. It might be clearly proved that Nardini's ſyſtem ould give but 360,000 inhabitants to the capital of e world; whereas Grævius's hypotheſis would quire four or five millions: both which numbers em to me highly improbable. 5. As to the 1800 uſes, *domus*, which in all the deſcriptions of ome are reckoned ſeparately, their name, their mbers, and a paſſage of Suetone concur in making e believe that they were the principal buildings, or laces of Rome. I think, however, they need not diſtinguiſhed from the *inſulæ*; ſince if they are moved from this claſs by their greatneſs, they may again reduced to it, by their detached ſituation, hich was the original and ſpecific meaning of the ord".

September 22.]—The ſecond volume of Baron elfeld's Letters withdrew my attention from Nari. I am intereſted in the Baron's character; his ters give a lively picture of the German courts. I ould have preferred indeed ſome account of the aracter and hiſtory of the king of Pruſſia, and the ppers at Potzdam, to the deſcription of all thoſe las and marriages. But fear or diſcretion impoſe orous laws on a German author.

September 23.]—I read *Nardini, L. iii. the remainder C. vii. and C. viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p.* 1005—1039. finiſhes the deſcription of the ſecond region, and oceeds to that of the third (*Iſis and Moneta*), which alſo concludes; and then commences the deſcripn of the fourth (*Templum Pacis*). As he draws r to the centre of the city, his materials become re abundant, from the greater quantity of ancient

monuments in that neighbourhood. He traces distinctly the *Via Sacra*; whose situation, indeed, is ascertained by a variety of sure limits. This famous street is bounded, on one side, by the *Fabian arch*, which led to the Roman Forum; and, on the other, it terminates at the *Colosseum*, by which it was separated from the street called *Suburra*; which some antiquaries vainly endeavoured to place elsewhere; but whose position is fixed by Nardini with much learning and accuracy. The ceremony practised in the *Regia*, bears, in my opinion, all the marks of the highest antiquity: a people, desirous of representing the God of War, but who were incapable or unwilling to imitate the human figure, and therefore adored him under the form of a spear; a horse sacrificed in the field, whose bloody head was carried in procession, and fixed to the wall of the *Regia*; every thing in these rites points to a Scythian origin, and indicates the manners of wandering barbarians. Even the military sports of the inhabitants of the *Via Sacra* and *Suburra* date their origin from a period when society was yet in its infancy. The *Via Sacra* leads to *the Temple of Peace* and the *Colosseum*, two of the finest monuments of Rome, which that city owes to the most avaricious of its princes. Happy the people, whose princes, by habitual economy, are capable of executing great undertakings!

September 24]—I read *Nardini, L. iii. C. xiii, xiv, xv. and L. iv. C. i—x. p.* 1039—1125. He continues and concludes the description of the fourth region, and proceeds to the fifth (*Esquilinus*), the sixth (*Alta Semita*), and the seventh (*Via Lata*). He sets clearly

before our eyes the infernal action of Tullia. She aſcended the *Vicus Cyprius*, and had already reached the extremity of that ſtreet, where it divides into two branches: that on the right (*Clivus Virbius*) led to the Eſquiline Mount and the palace of Servius Tullius; that on the left (*Vicus Patricius*) joined the Eſquiline and the Viminal, forming a ſtreet where the Patricians lived under the eyes of their king. It was here that the bloody body of her father could not ſtop the chariot of *Tullia*. The horror excited by her deed, ſeparated this place from the *Vicus Cyprius*, and gave to it the name of *Vicus Sceleratus*. In the eighth ſatire of the third book of Horace, a difficulty occurs reſpecting the Eſquiline Mount. The gardens of Mecænas ſtood on a ground formerly employed as a public burying-place. There is not any doubt of the fact; but it is uncertain when this change took place. Nardini thinks that it was in the reign of Servius. But it ſeems to me, that a glance at this ſatire is ſufficient to ſhow that the paſſage in Horace is not a cold and far-fetched alluſion to an event that happened five hundred years before his own time; but that he ſpeaks of a change operated under his own eyes, and by the direction of his patron. But Mount Eſquilin, I ſhall be told, was ever ſince the time of Servius within the walls of Rome: and can it be believed that ſlaves ſhould have been interred in a city, which ſcarcely granted that honor to emperors? I feel the whole weight of this objection; yet I would aſk whether the Eſquiline, though within the walls, was therefore within the *Pomœrium*? This cannot be determined. Mount

Aventine was within the circuit traced by Servius, and the emperor Claudius ſurrounded it with walls ſix centuries afterwards. The prohibition of interring in cities proceeded from the pontifical law; and the college of prieſts regulated, at pleaſure, the limits of the *Pomœrium*. This is but an hypotheſis, yet it is the only ſolution I can give of the difficulty. We ſtill ſee on Mount Aventine a triumphal arch, which a private citizen raiſed in honor of the emperor Gallienus. The rudeneſs of the work is ſurpaſſed by the coarſe flattery of the inſcription. A prince, who left his father a priſoner among the Perſians, and the empire a prey to its enemies, is extolled for his valor, which was only exceeded by his piety. It is allowable to transform the defects of princes into kindred excellencies; to call their ambition magnanimity; their ſeverity juſtice; and their cowardice moderation. This does not offend us, becauſe it is the cuſtom. But when Gallienus is flattered for virtues moſt oppoſite to his character, we are almoſt tempted to believe that, under the flattery, a ſevere ſatire is concealed. This inſcription is ſtill more impudent than the *pax ubique*, which Mr. Addiſon read on a medal of the ſame Gallienus.

September 25.] — I read *Nardini*, *L. v. C. i, ii, iii, iv. p.* 1125 — 1149. He has now reached the centre of the city or *Forum Romanum*, where it was impoſſible to advance a ſtep without finding ſome monument of the religion, greatneſs, or policy of Rome; but unfortunately the greater part of thoſe monuments no longer exiſt, except in ancient authors. They ſpeak of a little chapel dedicated to Concord,

concerning which I ſhall ſay a few words. This chapel was the work rather of hatred than of piety; it was built by C. Flavius, that ſworn enemy of the nobles, with a view to mortify their pride. How did he accompliſh this purpoſe? 1. By performing the ceremony of dedication himſelf. The ſenate beheld with indignation an edile arrogating to himſelf the functions hitherto reſerved for dictators and conſuls [12]. 2. In a manner leſs direct indeed, but ſtill more offenſive, which but few readers have perceived in a paſſage of Pliny [13]. In the midſt of a ſedition, Flavius vowed to conſecrate a temple to the goddeſs Concord, on condition that ſhe re-eſtabliſhed harmony among the different orders of citizens. The chapel was conſecrated, and the era of its dedication fixed by an inſcription, at the diſtance of 104 years from that of the Concord of the capitol [14], which had been built by Camillus, in conſequence of a ſimilar vow. It may eaſily be imagined how much the patricians were mortified at ſeeing this plebeian Concord, the work of an edile, ſtanding in the neighbourhood of the patrician Concord of their dictator. In this intereſting paſſage, the date only is erroneous. The firſt dedication was in the year of Rome 386; the ſecond, in the year 448. Inſtead of the numbers 104, we muſt therefore read 62.

I finiſhed *the twenty-firſt volume of the Bibliothéque raiſonnée.* It contains *the panegyric of Alphonſo Turrean, by Mr Vernet*; in which the beauty of the ſtyle exceeds that of the ſubject. This piece owes its fame to its excellent latinity; to ideas borrowed from England, and then new on the continent; and to a

degree of candor not uſual with theologians of that age. Its celebrity is now in the wane. *Diſſertations of the Academy of Cortona:* the ſubjects are well treated, but ill choſen. *Letters of Mr. Mayans, and the Life of Dean Marti prefixed to his Letters, publiſhed by the ſame Mr. Mayans.* The barbariſm of the country, which theſe two Spaniards continually deplore, entitles them to an indulgence, of which they ſtand in much need. The *Critical Hiſtory of Philoſophy, by Mr. Deſlandes:* a lively, but light performance. *Heſiod, by Mr. Robinſon:* the preface is elaborate. *Firſt Extract from Mr. Weſſeling's Diſcourſe on the famous Inſcription of Berenice, which has ſo much exerciſed the ingenuity of the learned.* He conſiders it only in relation to the Jews.

September 26.] — I read *Nardini, L. v. C. v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p.* 1149 — 1216. After having exhauſted the ſubject of the *Roman Forum*, he paſſes to the ſurrounding monuments, particularly the *Forum* of Cæſar, that of Auguſtus, and that of Trajan. A *Forum* was properly a place adorned on all ſides with temples and porticos; but whoſe eſſential characteriſtic conſiſted in a Baſilica, or court of juſtice. As the Roman judges anciently ſat under the open air, authors have been led to confound the *Forum* with the *Baſilica*, and to mention it ſometimes as an open ſquare, and at other times as a covered building. Trajan's pillar, which ſtands in the middle of his *Forum*, is a beautiful monument, and highly dignified by its deſcription. To preſerve by one great work the memory of a work ſtill greater; to raiſe a pillar one hundred and twenty-ſix feet high

n order to celebrate the levelling of a mountain of qual altitude, is worthy of that ſublime architecture hich ſpeaks to the mind as much as to the eyes, nd which the Romans underſtood better than any eople on earth. In croſſing the *Forum* of Auguſtus, ou perceive the temple of *Mars the Avenger*; where, conſequence of an edict of that prince, the ſenate, ſembled for the purpoſe of decreeing triumphs. his edict, which ſeemed merely a regulation of olice, was eſſentially connected with the great anges introduced by Auguſtus, and with his hole ſyſtem of policy. The ſenate formerly aſmbled in the temples of Mars or Bellona, which ood without the walls; the general not being lowed to hold his military rank in the city. But hen Auguſtus was inveſted with the extraordinary aracter of Imperator, this new generaliſſimo mained for life in the midſt of the Forum, and held e ſword always raiſed over the heads of the izens.

September 27.] — I read *Nardini*, *L. v. C. xiii*, , *xv*, *xvi. p.* 1237 — 1297, which concludes the ok; of which I found it very difficult to form a tinct idea. He treats of ſeveral objects, and thoſe complicated, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to paint em in the mind without ſeeing them delineated on per. A good topographical chart of the Capitoline ount would have been extremely uſeful; but if h a chart was made by Nardini[11], it is here omitd by his editor. That of D'Anville exhibits accuely the general outline; but does not repreſent rticulars. Nardini's ſtyle, or that of his tranſla-

tor, is alſo exceedingly puzzling; and his arrange-
ment faulty in the extreme; ſince the thirteenth
chapter ſuppoſes the reader acquainted with the
fourteenth, and the eleventh and twelfth chapters
cannot be underſtood without a previous acquain-
tance with the thirteenth. By repeated peruſals,
and attentive meditation, I at length ſurmounted
theſe obſtacles, which have ſerved perhaps to engrave
more deeply in my mind the image of the Capito-
line Mount. It had two ſummits, quite diſtinct
from each other, though often confounded by the
ancients, and miſtaken by the moderns. The ſouthern
ſummit, which overlooked the Tiber, was almoſt
contiguous to the rude Tarpeian rocks, which are
now ſcarcely perceptible; and was called *Arx*, the
citadel. The northern ſummit properly formed the
capitol. It was the ſite of the temple of Jupiter. The
valley ſeparating the two mountains was called *Inter-
montium*, and covered with a thick foreſt; where
Romulus eſtabliſhed the famous *Aſylum*, which was
the nurſery of his colony. Afterwards the foreſt diſap-
peared, to make room for magnificent edifices.
The valley and both mountains were incloſed with
a ſtrong wall. Three roads led to the capitol from
the Forum. 1. The *Centum Gradus*, which began a
little beyond the temple of Concord, and termina-
ted at the temple of Juno *Moneta* in the citadel. 2. The
road belonging to the *Aſylum*, which was the
through which conquerors paſſed in triumph. 3. The
Clivus Capitolinus, whoſe ſituation is leſs accurately
determined than that of the two others. After care-
fully weighing the arguments of Marlianus and

Nardini, I am obliged to ſay, that neither party ſupports his opinion with much force. I adopt, however, that of the former; if one of the roads had the name of *Clivus Capitolinus*, it is natural to think that it led to the capitol, properly ſo called; and on this ſuppoſition each ſummit muſt have had its particular road, beſides that common to both.

September 28.] — I read *Nardini*, *L. vi. C. i*, *ii*, *iii*, *iv*, *v*, *vi*, *vii*, *viii. p.* 1237 — 1297. Having deſcribed the eighth region, comprehending the *Forum* and the Capitol, he proceeds through the *Porta Carmentalis*, to examine the ninth; or *Campus Martius*, which was without the city till incloſed by Aurelian's wall. The Romans, after expelling the Tarquins, conſecrated to Mars a field which had belonged to that family; and which afterwards ſerved for the place of military exerciſes, and the aſſemblies of the people. The legacy of Tarutia, conſiſting of a field between the Campus Martius and the Tiber, and that of Flaminius, conſiſting of ſome meadows beyond the Porta Carmentalis, ſpeedily enlarged the bounds of the public property; which ſtill continued a bare and ſmooth plain, except that the ſight was interrupted by an ancient priſon; by a temple of Bellona, built in the year of Rome 457; and by the *Equiria* and *Septa*, which reſembled rather incloſures for ſheep than public edifices. In the changes which the Campus Martius gradually underwent, we may diſtinguiſh three principal æras. 1. Towards the year of Rome 535, and a little before the ſecond Punic war, the ſame Flaminius, who afterwards periſhed in the battle near the lake

Thrayſmenus, built a circus on the ground which had formerly belonged to his anceſtors. This circus was ſoon ſurrounded by the temple of Hercules Muſagetes, by that of Juno, and by the portico of Octavius, &c. and a ſmall ſuburb began to be built without the Porta Carmentalis, towards the middle of the ſeventh century of Rome. 2. Towards the end of that century, the great Pompey, at his return from his eaſtern conqueſts, *ſpoliis orientis onuſtus*, wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome public edifices; but there not being room within the walls, he extended the bounds of this ſuburb towards the Campus Martius; and built there his magnificent theatre, the firſt that had been ſeen at Rome. This theatre was ſurrounded by a temple of Venus, a *curia*, a portico, a fine garden, and a temple conſecrated to the fortune of the knights. 3 Amidſt his other great deſigns for embelliſhing the city, Auguſtus did not forget the *Campus Martius*. He adorned it with beautiful buildings, and encouraged the grandees of Rome to follow his example. None imitated him more eagerly than his ſon in law Agrippa, of whoſe magnificence the *Septa*, baths, gardens, lake or baſon, and above all the pantheon, were conſpicuous proofs. In the time of Strabo, the ſuburb of the Campus Martius was but little inferior to the city itſelf. Its populouſneſs, however, was never proportional to its extent; the public gardens occupied much ground; and there was ſtill left an empty ſpace for the military exerciſes of the Roman youth. As early as the time of Cicero [16], there was mention of taking the *Campus Martius* within the walls, the

t might be filled with buildings, while a field be-
onging to the Vatican ſhould be ſet apart for the
urpoſes in which the Field of Mars had formerly
een employed. But this project was never carried
nto execution. How many reflections does this
ight ſketch naturally excite! That people of kings,
ho ſo well deſerve this appellation, enjoyed col-
ectively all the rights of ſovereignty, and all the
leaſures of grandeur; a citizen never ſtirred from
is houſe, but he walked under a beautiful portico;
took his ſeat with 80,000 of his countrymen in a
agnificent theatre, which exhibited the greateſt
urioſities on earth; or repoſed himſelf in thoſe
ermæ, or baths, in which were united all the plea-
res of the mind and ſenſes, with the pomp befit-
ng the greateſt monarchs. Ambitious generals
viſhed their wealth on the people, firſt to obtain
referment, and afterwards to make them forget that
had been beſtowed. But it will always be matter
ſurpriſe, how the grandees of Rome, a Pompey
an Agrippa, could ſo eaſily accompliſh ſuch vaſt
ndertakings. What ſources could ſupply their ex-
aordinary expenſes? War and the Provinces.
nprincipled generals robbed the ſubjects of the ſtate,
oſe who had any remains of virtue, were ſatisfied
ith plundering the public enemy. What vaſt wealth
as neceſſary for ſupporting the magnificence of
ompey! Yet the moderation and diſintereſtedneſs,
which he was honorably diſtinguiſhed from other
nerals, was praiſed publicly in the preſence of the
oman people [17]. His triumph diſplayed in the ſtreets
Rome the wealth of the ſubjugated eaſt; although,

during the ages when the army really belonged to the republic, that wealth would have increaſed the treaſury of the ſtate; but the generals had been long accuſtomed to appropriate the ſpoils of war", and to expect gratitude from the people, for the oſtentatious employment of the people's riches. The citizens muſt have felt indignation againſt the pride of Lucullus, when they beheld that ſelfiſh voluptuary making houſes and gardens which bade defiance to the elements, and brought together the ſeaſons, without raiſing a ſingle monument for the honor of the gods, or the accommodation of his fellow citizens. Among the works of Agrippa, there is one which ſhows how much that virtuous citizen ſtill loved the republic, and how honeſtly he ſerved a maſter, of whoſe artful policy his own ſimplicity was the dupe. This work is the *Septa*. A man who adorned the place of aſſembly for the Roman people, muſt have been ignorant that Auguſtus was gradually undermining their authority, and bringing their aſſemblies into ſuch contempt, that his ſucceſſor could without fear totally aboliſh them.

I finiſhed *the twenty-ſecond volume of the Bibliotheque Raiſonnée.* I find *the ſecond extract of Weſſeling's Treatiſe on the famous paſſage of Victor Tunnunenſis*, of which Infidels have ſo much availed themſelves. He beats all their works in pieces, and far more effectually than Bentley. *Foſter's Sermons*: always moderate and judicious. A work *on Foreign Service by Mr. Bochat.* Were reaſon convinced, yet the heart would always rebel againſt this barbarous cuſtom of the Swiſs: but reaſon is far from being

convinced of the utility of this practice. *Marti's Letters, ſecond extract.* Mr. Marti is merely a ſcholar of the fifteenth century, and ſtill at the dawn of ſcience: much ill choſen erudition, a profound veneration for the ancients, and that ſervile imitation of their manners, which is its ſureſt mark. Many deſigns left imperfect for want of aſſiſtance; and many obſervations, good and bad, but already made in all the countries of Europe. *The Learning of the Apoſtles:* a very curious performance, by Mr. Lami of Florence. *The Hiſtory of Ancient Treaties, by Barbeyrac:* accurate and uſeful. *The Natural Hiſtory of Languedoc, by Mr. Aſtruc:* curious and well written. The firſt extract contains the article geography, which is his firſt claſs; where he enters into a very intereſting account of the Narbonneſe province; of Septimania, of which he gives a very forced etymology; and eſpecially of the ancient authors who ſpeak of Languedoc.

September 29.] — read *Nardini, L. vi. C. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p.* 1297 — 1347. He deſcribes the remainder of the ninth region, the moſt extenſive, and alſo one of the moſt ornamented of the whole city. From thence he proceeds to the tenth, *Mons Palatinus*; ſmall in itſelf, but famous both as the cradle of the nation and the ſeat of its empire. Auguſtus fixed his reſidence there, in the houſe of the orator Hortenſius, affecting the modeſty of a citizen, rather than the magnificence of a prince. Tiberius enlarged this reſidence on the ſide next to the *Forum*; and Caius extended it to the temple of Caſtor. Nero ſeemed to wiſh comprehending in it

the whole city. He covered the mount Palatine with buildings that reached to the circus; and, on the other side, filled with edifices the plain bounded by the Palatine, the Esquiline, and mount Cælius, even to the neighbourhood of Mecenas's gardens. The ascent to his palace, the *Domus Aurea*, led through the *Via Sacra*, in the middle of which street stood the *Vestibulum*, or great court, which was afterwards the site of the Temple of Peace. Farther on stood the great hall, or *Atrium*, which led to his gardens, immense porticos, and the lake or pool which afterwards became the site of Titus's amphitheatre. Vespasian destroyed the greatest part of those buildings, and confined his palace to the Palatine Mount, the greater part of which he continued to occupy. Domitian added many embellishments, which were increased by almost all his successors, until the Palatine palace, being forsaken by the emperors, perished of decay, in the reign of Theodoric. The Farnese palace now stands on its ruins. The imperial residence astonished every beholder by its vast extent, the magnificence of its furniture, the richness of its ornaments, and the multitude of its temples; from which last it derived an august and sacred appearance. I think it doubtful, whether the elegance of the architecture corresponded to all this grandeur. Since it was the work of fifty successive princes, it must have been built without any fixed plan, and therefore deficient in the principal merit of proportion and harmony. Unfortunately too, it must have lost in point of taste, in proportion as it gained in magnificence. Simplicity was

e aim of Auguſtus, in an age when art flouriſhed; d ornaments were added by the feeble and languiſh- g taſte of his ſucceſſors. This palace, therefore, s never been numbered among the beautiful edi- es of Rome.

September 30.] — I read *Nardini*, *L. vii. C. i*, *ii*, , *iv*, *v*, *vi*, *vii*, *viii*, *ix. p.* 1347 — 1402. He ſcribes the eleventh region, or *Circus Maximus*; e twelfth, or *Piſcina Publica*; and the thirteenth, *Mons Aventinus*. He enters into many particulars ncerning the circus, the largeſt perhaps of all the ifices deſtined for the exhibition of ſhows. Tar- inius Priſcus, by whom it was built, ſeems not have adapted it to the ſmallneſs of the ſtate in his n time, but to the greatneſs which fortune had ſtore for Rome. Every particular tends to con- nce us, that the circus was fitted for containing a ſt number of people. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus s, 150,000; Pliny, 260,000; Victor, 380,000; modern Victor, 385,000; and the Notitia Imperii, ,000. In this great diverſity of authorities, how ght we to form our judgment? By conſulting facts, ces, and experience. We know the ſituation l the bounds of the circus. They always remained ſame; and the alterations which took place, arded only the interior arrangement of the edifice, e thoſe who have examined its ruins, are ſcarcely e to trace the three ſtadia and a half in length, ich were aſſigned to it by the firſt founder[19]. nyſius of Halicarnaſſus gives it four *jugera*; or Roman feet in breadth; Pliny makes it three ia long, and one ſtadium, or 625 Roman feet,

broad. This apparent contradiction Nardini con
ders as a ſource of much information [20]. Accordi
to his explanation, Dionyſius ſpoke of the exter
circumference, and Pliny of the interior. The inte
mediate buildings exhauſted the difference; and
theſe were filled with ſpectators, their extent is
object of importance. To find their breadth,
have only to ſubtract 625 feet from 690; the remain
is 335 feet; the half of which, 168 feet, multipli
by three ſtadia, 1875 feet, will give the ſpace allot
for the ſpectators on both ſides. The covered bui
ings, which formed the exterior circumferenc
were made of wood, two ſtories high, and ſ
rounded by a portico. The ſeats were of ſton
and arranged like thoſe of the amphitheatre, d
cending on all ſides from the covered building to
Euripus and the *Arena*. The exterior portico m
have been double: it therefore occupied thirty fe
Of the 138 which remain, I would allow 48 for t
covered ſeats, and 90 for thoſe of ſtone. Eve
thing conſidered, this proportion appears to me
moſt probable; although the 138 feet may be oth
wiſe diſtributed without injuring our calculatio
When we reflect on the ſmallneſs of the Roman foot
and the great attention beſtowed in procuring eve
ſort of conveniency for the ſpectators, leſs than t
feet and a half can ſcarcely be allowed for e
perſon, and three feet in depth for the benches,
well as for the intervals between them. The
bench then, extending three ſtadia, contai
750 perſons, ſince the ſtone-ſeats roſe to the hei
of 90 feet. The ſpectators aſcended by thirty ſte

hich ſerved alſo for ſeats. They contained 22,500 erſons. Each ſtory of the covered buildings, being the ſame length, divided the 48 feet which it ccupied into ſixteen benches; the two ſtories, omprehending thirty-two benches, therefore, con-ined 24,000 perſons; the whole ſpectators ſeated n either ſide amounted to 46,500; and the total, on oth ſides together, to 93,000. There ſtill remains ne of the ends of the circus, for the other was ccupied by the *Carceres*. It was as long as the rcus was broad; that is, a ſtadium, or 625 feet; that if we allow to it the ſame depth as to the ſides, d calculate on the ſame principles, it muſt have ontained 15,500, or a third part of thoſe contained each of the ſides. This number, added to 93,000, ves 108,500 for the whole ſpectators ſeated in the rcus. It may well be imagined, that at the great mes, the paſſionate love for thoſe amuſements ould crowd the porticos with ſpectators, who crificed their eaſe to their curioſity. But I think ey could not well exceed 40 or 50,000. More e not required for completing the number of 0,000, aſſigned by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus. To plain the prodigious multitude mentioned by the o Victors[22], and the Notitia Imperii, I require t one ſuppoſition, which is, that thoſe writers of e Lower Empire had but little judgment, and ſtill s taſte. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with them ill not diſpute the point. Compilers of their claſs ight miſtake for hiſtoric truth a poetical licence, the exaggeration of a flattering inſcription. When

Juvenal, giving way to the warmth of his indignation, cries out

Totam hodie Romam circus capit[23];

when an inſcription in honor of Trajan ſays, that this prince rendered the circus capable of containing the whole people of Rome[24], theſe abridgers might explain ſuch paſſages literally, and thus expreſs the number of ſpectators in the circus by that of Roman citizens. If we conſider the paſſage of the ancient Victor, the leaſt erroneous of the three, and add to the number mentioned in it, that of the Roman ſlaves, according to the proportion which the Athenian ſlaves bore to the citizens, we ſhall find that the whole inhabitants of Rome amounted to 1,140,000. My conjecture is ſtrengthened by obſerving, that this number nearly agrees to that aſcertained by a more exact calculation[25]. But if this explanation be rejected, we muſt pronounce that thoſe writers have moſt groſsly deceived themſelves. I am unwilling to ſay as much of Pliny; yet there is no alternative: the naturaliſt declares that he ſpeaks of the circus as embelliſhed and enlarged by Julius Cæſar. Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus was contemparory with the Dictator and publiſhed his work under his ſucceſſor. We might cut the Gordian knot by reading 160,000. But what becomes of the manuſcripts!

October 1.] I read *Nardini*, *L. vii. C. x, xi, xii, xiii. and L. viii. C. i, ii, iii. p.* 1402—1446. The author at length croſſes the Tiber, and examines the fourteenth and laſt region, called *Tranſtiberina*, and

he Mount Vatican, which never was encloſed ithin the walls of ancient Rome. The eighth book egins by a general recapitulation of the edifices of he city; from thence he proceeds to ſome general opics; ſuch as the Tiber and its bridges. I ſhall enture to make ſome reflections on the depth of that ver. On this ſubject we can derive nothing from perience; for though we may eaſily meaſure the reſent depth of the Tiber, this will not aſcertain hat it was anciently. The ruined edifices which ve raiſed the vallies almoſt to the height of the ountains, muſt have produced a ſimilar change in e bed of the river. It becomes neceſſary, therefore, have recourſe to the ancients; and our difficulty much increaſed by an apparent contradiction tween two authorities of the firſt rank. Pliny every here mentions the Tiber as navigable for the largeſt ps [36]. The prodigious veſſel which carried the eliſk of the Vatican from Alexandria to Rome, ſailed the Tiber as eaſily as it had ſailed down the Nile [37]. abo [38], on the contrary, aſſures us, that the vaſt ps of mud which were waſhed down by the rrent, and depoſited at the mouth of the river, dered it neceſſary for large ſhips to unload a part heir cargo, before they could arrive at the city. his contradiction is as ſtrong as it at firſt ſight ears, it will be difficult to conceive how ſuch urate writers could be deceived in a matter ſo erally known; and ſcarcely poſſible to determine ich of the two is chargeable with the fault. The erence between them may perhaps be diminiſhed, t totally removed, by the following reflections.

1. In the narration of Pliny I perceive much prepoſſe
ſion; a deſire to exaggerate the advantages of th
Tiber, and to magnify it by a compariſon with th
greateſt rivers. Nothing ſhort of ſuch a deſign coul
have made him compare it with the Nile, to whic
it is ſo much inferior. Both rivers had carried th
veſſel containing the obeliſk. The Tiber, therefore
is equal to the Nile. A giant lifts a weight of te
pounds, ſo does a dwarf; the dwarf therefore is a
ſtrong as the giant. Such is Pliny's reaſoning. Th
tranſportation of the obeliſk muſt be allowed; but n
concluſion can be drawn from it concerning th
equality of depth in the two rivers. 2. Experienc
teaches us, that rivers which carry down much ſlim
and ſand, are not thereby rendered more ſhallow
except near to their mouths, where the ſtrength o
their ſtreams is commonly much abated. There grea
accumulations are formed; but as currents muc
prevail at the mouths of rivers, the accumulation
naturally follow their direction, and throw them
ſelves on the neighbouring coaſt. In this manner th
Rhone diſcharges its obſtructions on the coaſt o
Languedoc, whoſe harbours are thereby blocke
up. The Tiber, likewiſe, diſcharged its mud on th
coaſt of *Latium*, by which the harbour of Oſti
became inacceſſible. Some ſand-banks, doubtleſs
remained in particular places of the river in conſe
quence of local circumſtances: but theſe obſtacle
might be ſurmounted or ſhunned; and, from Strabo
narrative well conſidered, we can only infer that
veſſel drawing much water, could not ſail up th
Tiber without exertions of ſkill and courage. 3. I

tter is not inſpired by commerce. We can eaſily, herefore, believe with Strabo, that foreign merchants ere glad to unload part of their cargoes, and to put em on board of lighters, which were ready for eir ſervice; and whoſe maſters, from motives of tereſt, would not fail to exaggerate the dangers of e voyage. I can believe alſo with Pliny, that a aligula, who ſported equally with his treaſures and e lives of his ſubjects, and who valued himſelf on tting reaſon and the elements at defiance, could do ery thing not impoſſible. Every exertion would cond his enterpriſe. The bed of the river would be eviouſly cleared; ſluices would be ſkilfully ſtributed; and the ſtrength of men and horſes would pel to Rome the veſſel carrying the obeliſk of the atican. I doubt not that the ſucceſs of this trial would nvince mariners that part of the obſtacles were aginary; and that, by improving their art, even oſe which were real might be much diminiſhed. hatever was the caſe with ſhips, it is certain that llies, which indeed draw much leſs water, eaſily led up the Tiber to Rome. Cato performed this yage in a galley with ſeven tire of oars, and landed the *Navalia*, near the foot of the Mount Aventine. ome therefore was a maritime city, and open to the ſults of a hoſtile fleet, notwithſtanding the opinion Camillus, or rather of Titus Livius", to the ntrary. Why did not the Carthaginians, who were ten maſters of the ſea, attempt ſuch an enterpriſe? d they embarked on the river towards evening, y might before day-break have landed at the foot the capitol". They had not courage for the

undertaking, and their ſhips were not ſo well fitte
for war as for commerce.

October 2.] — I read *Nardini*, *L. viii. C. iv*,
p. 1446—1460; which concludes the whole work
the excellence of which, its accuracy, judgmen
and learning, muſt leave but ſmall gleanings f
ſubſequent writers. Perhaps he is chargeable wi
being too diffuſe, and ſometimes with want
perſpicuity. I am inclined alſo to accuſe him
raiſing up difficulties, and of employing whole pa
on what might be aſcertained by one juſt and cl
obſervation. I am ſatisfied with my diligence wi
reſpect to this work, which I have read in ſixte
days, with much attention and reflection.

I finiſhed *the twenty-third volume of the Bibliothe
Raiſonnée;* which contains the ſecond extract
Mr. Aſtruc's Natural Hiſtory of Languedoc. In
article reſpecting manners, we find ſtriking veſti
of Paganiſm ſtill remaining in that province; I ſpe
not of thoſe general characters of ſuperſtition wh
are common to all men, becauſe they are men; but
ſome practices ſo ſingular and arbitrary, that it
impoſſible to miſtake their origin. How difficult
to aboliſh the religion and language of a nation! T
Satires of Sectanus, with Coſellius's Anſwer: a liter
war which diſhonored almoſt all the learned in It
without procuring much fame for their talents. Th
of the Jeſuit Sectanus were the moſt diſtinguiſhed;
the names of his adverſaries incline me to think
his cauſe was not good. *A Library of Manuſcripts,
Father Montfaucon:* this work is learned and uſe
but is not complete except as to France. It is al
neceſſar

ecessary for every man of letters. *Oroſius, by Mr. Havercamp:* a good edition, which was much wanted, of a very bad author, whoſe ſole value ariſes from the loſs of his fellow-laborers, who were far ſuperior to himſelf.

October 3.] — I looked into the fourth volume of Grævius's Theſaurus, which contains ſeveral other treatiſes, beſides Nardini's, on the antiquities of Rome. I began by reading the whole of the ſhort but famous *Diſſertation of Iſaac Voſſius on the magnitude of that city.* His paradoxes are well known. He aſſigns upwards of thirty miles for the circuit of Rome, independently of the ſuburbs; and upwards of ſeventy miles when the ſuburbs are included. He fills that vaſt extent with more than fourteen millions of inhabitants"; and being as niggardly towards the moderns, as prodigal with reſpect to the ancients, he aſſures us that this number of ſubjects is not to be found in the three moſt flouriſhing kingdoms of Europe. Theſe ſtrange novelties could not fail to provoke the indignation of many adverſaries, by whom they were ably and learnedly refuted. There are but two authorities for Voſſius, and theſe merely ſerted to dazzle and bewilder; a paſſage of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, which he miſconſtrues, and a paſſage of Pliny; which he has corrupted. For the firſt, I would refer to Nardini, who proves clearly that when Dionyſius compares the ſize of Rome with that of Athens, he does not include the harbour of the Piræus". For the paſſage of Pliny, I would refer to the learned Freret, who explains it very naturally in connexion with the context". I do not ſay that his

hypotheſis is without its difficulties; but of the two parts of a paſſage, when one is clear and another obſcure, I ſay that the latter muſt be explained by the former, and not the reverſe. I ſhall conſider but one argument adduced by Voſſius. It is ingenious, and ever ſince I firſt read it in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, is has left on my mind a ſtrong impreſſion. The wood of Egeria, he ſays, was at the gates of Rome in the firſt ages of the republic; but in the age of Roman greatneſs, this wood was in the neighbourhood of Aricia, and fifteen miles from the *Forum*. It may be ſuppoſed, he adds, that in proportion as the city was enlarged, this wood was gradually cut down, ſo that it might ſtill continue to keep its former ſituation with regard to the ſuburbs and ſtand a little beyond the *Porta Capena*. The ſame thing happened as to the *Clivus Virbius* and the lake of Juturna, which are in the neighbourhood of Aricia now, but were in the centre of the city formerly. This idea is doubtleſs ingenious; but many reaſons convince me that it is falſe. It is founded entirely on hypotheſis. All writers mention the *Porta Capena*, the wood of Egeria, and that of Aricia; but none ſuppoſe any connexion between them, or that the latter was merely a continuation of the former. Servius, indeed, and he alone, ſays that the nymph Egeria of the wood Aricia, was the ſame goddeſs with whom Numa was familiar". But the identity of the goddeſs does not prove that of the ſacred wood. I know that rural divinities were not the gods of whole nations, and that their worſhip was often confined to the diſtrict which had experienced the

indneſs; but I know alſo, that in the mythological, s well as in the natural world, there is a perpetual hain of beings riſing above each other by almoſt nperceptible degrees, from the lowly Dryad to upiter armed with the thunder. The Dryad, eſtitute of power, knowledge, and almoſt of ſenſa-on, exiſted in her native tree, from which ſhe was arcely diſtinguiſhable. But Egeria was of a higher der, and not inferior to Faunus, who frequently me from Arcadia to the territory of the Sabines "; that though the ancient wood near to Aricia was r proper habitation, this needed not to hinder uma from conſecrating to her another, at the gates Rome; or from perſuading the people that ſhe quently honored him there with her preſence. It is atural ſuppoſition that the whole country between ome and Aricia was a continued foreſt, at each trem ty of which there was a chapel conſecrated to Nymph; and that when the country was cleared, trees were allowed to ſtand at both extremities m reſpect to Egeria. 2. The wood of Aricia is ſo from being of a later date than the *Porta Capena*, t if we can have any dependence on the chronology he fabulous ages, that wood was more ancient n the city of Rome. Hyppolitus came into Italy years before the birth of Romulus; and the former nce is connected with all the traditions which vailed in the country about Aricia. The name *bius* indicated his new life; the nymph Egeria eived him in her grotto, and tenderly compaſſion-d his misfortunes ". Theſe traditions, I well know, fables; but ſuch fables are not the work of a day.

They were piouſly believed by the whole diſtrict, in which they had taken deep root; the ſacred wood, which was their ſcene, muſt have been more ancient than themſelves; and though fictions, they deſtroy the ſtill more improbable fiction of the conſecration of the wood of Aricia in the age of Roman greatneſs, and the enlargement of the city, that is, in the time of Auguſtus, or, at leaſt, of the lateſt conſuls. 3. The ſuppoſition that ſacred places changed their ſite, and retreated as it were before the greatneſs of Rome, is contrary to the ſpirit of all local ſuperſtitions. The Pagans revered a place honored by the preſence and miracles of a god, where he had diſplayed his power and conferred his benefits; but they did not aſſociate with their reverence for this place, a veneration for all the adjacent country, which had not any connexion with the divinity. Their worſhip was attached, as it were, to the ſoil, and the one could not be changed without aboliſhing the other. The temple of Jupiter *Elicius*, the *Lupercal*, the houſe of Romulus, always remained in their original ſite. The argument drawn from the gates is not concluſive. New walls neceſſarily require new gates, which naturally retain the names of thoſe which they replace, and which are demoliſhed as uſeleſs. 4. On what principle was it neceſſary to preſerve the relative ſituation of the wood of Egeria with regard to the *Porta Capena?* In the time of Numa this gate was not in exiſtence; ſince it belonged to the walls built around the city by Servius Tullius[18]. 5. Of the three examples given by Voſſius, the wood of Egeria was without the *Porta Capena*, the lake of *Juturna* was

n the *Forum*, and the *Clivus Virbius* was at the foot f Mount Eſquiline. Had theſe monuments changed heir ſites, care would have been taken to preſerve heir relative ſituation with regard to each other. But a line drawn from the centre of the *Forum*, and aſſing through each of thoſe places, while it removed hem from the city, muſt alſo have removed them om each other, inſtead of collecting them all into ne ſpot in the neighhourhood of Aricia. 6. Accord- g to Voſſius, the walls of Rome advanced to the oth mile-ſtone on the Appian way. Yet Aricia was nciently, as it is at preſent, ſixteen miles diſtant om the capital. All authors agree in this point; and e greater diſtance aſſigned by Strabo has been own to proceed from his meaſuring by a ſtadium orter than the Olympic". I foreſee that it will be nſwered that ſince the miles were counted not from e gates of Rome, but from the golden pillar, ricia might be ſixteen miles from this pillar and the orum, and no more than ſix miles from the Porta *apena.* The anſwer indeed would be good, had e diſtance been reckoned by a maker of itineraries; t it is not ſuppoſable that a geographer like Strabo, a poet like Lucan, would have ſaid that Aricia as ſixteen miles from Rome, had the ſuburbs filled the immediate ſpace, without making that remark. he diſtances then were always reckoned from the ile-ſtone erected by Auguſtus. I would aſk whether e *Aqua Claudia* roſe in the city, although its ſource ſaid to have been at the ſixth and the eighth mile- one on the road to Preneſte? The ſyſtem of Voſſius quires the affirmative. Yet we find the ſource of

this water at an eſtate (*Prædium*) belonging to Lucullus **. The walls of Rome therefore never extended to that diſtance. This obſervation, which bears againſt the whole of Voſſius's ſyſtem, appears to me deciſive.

What a ſingular character was this Voſſius! He had much reading, vivacity, and invention; but his underſtanding had a wrong bias; he was prone to exaggeration in his opinions, and incapable of reſiſting the temptation of a brillant chimera. He was beſides a very bad man. Some parts of his conduct betrayed a total want of probity.

October 4.] — I read *a Diſſertation by Octavio Falconieri, on the Pyramid of C. Ceſtius, p.* 1461—1483. This monument, which ſtood at the Porta Oſtienſis and which is now fixed in the city-wall, is entirely covered with a beautiful white marble. It is 165 Roman palms high, and the ſides of its baſe are each 130 palms long. There is a room in the middle of the pyramid twenty-ſix palms long, eighteen broad, and nineteen high. This is properly the ſepulchre. The walls were covered with a multitude of figures, ſome of which ſtill remain in a very good taſte. It appears from the inſcription of the monument and the explanations given of it by Falconieri, that Ceſtius was a man of diſtinction in the time of Auguſtus, and that the paintings relate to his employment of Epulo or manager of the ſacred feſtivals. None of the ancients make mention of this beautiful pyramid; a reflection which creates regret for the loſs of those monuments, whoſe beauty they highly celebrate. Falconieri's Diſſertation is well written.

I read also a performance of father Ciaconius on the *Columna Rostrata of Duillius*. Taking the whole inscription for original, I began to draw from it many important consequences. Happily I discovered that the original had suffered so much from the injuries of time, that it was rendered unintelligible, and that the critic had successfully restored it by his conjectures. I this day read p. 1809—1817.

October 5.] — Although the Columna Rostrata disappointed me, I read to the end of the treatise. It contains some very ingenious restorations of the original, and excellent observations on the Latin orthography, which, as happens in all languages, gradually lost sight of etymology, and came to be regulated by pronunciation. Unhappily the inscription on the pillar of Duillius has not the merit of originality. We see clearly by the example of Maximus, written with an *i*, that the old spelling had been altered for the new, which prevailed from the time of Julius Cæsar.

I finished *Ciaconius's Dissertation*, *p.* 1817—1831. I read also *a small Treatise by Joseph Castalio*, *on the Temples of Peace and Janus*, *p.* 1849—1856. It is a poor performance.

6.]— I read *a Dissertation of Peter Bargæus*, *de Portoribus Ædificiorum Urbis Romæ*, *p.* 1869—1892. By a common prejudice we consider the northern barbarians as equally hostile to the arts and to the Romans; ascribing the ruins of the finest monuments of the city to an Alaric, a Genseric, or a Totila. Bargæus regards this opinion as totally unfounded. Alaric scarcely exercised the rights of war. Genseric

was satisfied with pillaging Rome. Totila destroyed part of the walls in his fury, and repaired them when he recovered his reason. The most of the public edifices were standing in the reign of Theodoric, who was more careful to preserve them than had been the last emperors of the east. The zeal of the Popes, and particularly of Gregory the Great, beheld nothing in a temple but the idol to whom it was consecrated: he established religion on the ruin of the fine arts. This account of the matter is explained by Bargæus with much learning and argument, and is far better than his attempt to justify this conduct in the Popes, which was surely more becoming the Alcoran than the Gospel. Our notions are as false as unfavorable concerning the nations which over-ran the Roman empire in the fifth century. We look on them as savages just issued from the woods to break the boundaries which divided them from the civilized world. This opinion indeed may be applicable to the people of Scandinavia, to the Scythians, and the Arabs. The Arabs were actuated by enthusiasm; the Danes by vengeance; the Scythians by ferocity, common among wandering nations of shepherds. But the inhabitants of Germany, the Goths, Vandals, and Franks, had divested themselves of much of their barbarism before they invaded the dominions of the Roman empire. For more than a century preceding that event, numerous bodies of their countrymen had served in the Roman armies. They learned the Latin language; they adopted civilized manners; and if they were not Christians, they at least revered Christianity. The contempt

hich they ſometimes teſtified for the vanquiſhed, as not mixed with hatred. The ſoldier was ſome- mes cruel, but the general was ſeldom barbarous, nd the legiſlator never. I caſt but a rapid glance on bjects, which would deſerve to be ſurveyed tentively.

I read alſo a *Diſſertation of the ſame author on the beliſks in Rome*, *p.* 1905—1934. It is learned; but ſuperfluities were lopped off, might be reduced to x pages.

October 7.] — I began the works of *Olaus Borri- ius*, *de Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ*, and read 1521—1546.

8.] — I read *Borrichius*, p. 1546—1576. I finiſhed e twenty-fourth volume of the *Bibliothéque Rai- nnée*. It contains *the Hiſtory of the Heavens*, *by the bbé Pluche*. This author, who is a bad philoſopher d a ſuperficial ſcholar, builds ingenious ſyſtems, hich dazzle but for a moment. He draws Egyptian ymologies from the Hebrew, becauſe he ſuppoſes at the Hebrew had much affinity with the Phenician; d that the Phenician was not very remote from the gyptian! The ſigns of the ſeaſons and of agriculture e changed into gods. But I would aſk whether it as poſſible that mankind ſhould ſo much miſtake oſe ſigns which returned annually, bringing with em their own explication. Such an extraordinary etamorphoſis muſt have required at leaſt many more es than the Abbé Pluche would be willing to ow. — *The Hiſtory of Charles XII. by Mr. Aderfeld.* he Alexander of the North had already his Quintus urtius. He ſtill wanted an Arrian. Mr. Aderfeld

ſupplies the defect rather by his accuracy than hi
eloquence. — *Libanius's Letters*, *by Mr. Welſ*:
valuable preſent. We had only 250 of theſe letter
This learned man gives us 1600, recovered from th
duſt of all the libraries of Europe. — *Ammonius*
Differentia Verborum, *&c. by Mr. Valkenaer:* a ſm
collection of ſome Greek grammarians, not witho
merit. — *The Hiſtory of King David:* a learned
ſingular, and laughable performance.

October 9.] — I read *Olaus Borrichius*, *de Antiq*
Facie Urbis Romæ, p. 1576—1600.

10.] — I finiſhed *Olaus Borrichius*, *p.* 1600—162
and am much pleaſed with this little work. It
curious and learned. Borrichius examines the quarte
of the city with order and perſpicuity; and, regardle
of minute objects, fixes on the principal monument
which he explains in a very entertaining manner
and in an eaſy flow of ſtyle. His work muſt be uſef
to thoſe who wiſh to form only a general, but ju
notion of ancient Rome; who are afraid of the larg
volumes of Donatus and Nardini, or who wiſh t
digeſt methodically in their minds the knowledg
which they have acquired from them. In one wor
Borrichius is an excellent abridgment of Nardin
whom he cloſely follows. I could have wiſhed th
learned Dane had been ſatisfied with this merit
without aſpiring to that of an original author; yet
muſt be allowed that he makes ſome curious obſerv
tions, and corrects Nardini judiciouſly; of which th
two following are examples. 1. He proves in a ver
ſatisfactory manner, that the emperors were nev
honored with the title of *Divus* in their life-time, a

onſequently that all the monuments in which this tle is found, much have been raiſed to them after eir deaths. 2. He ſhows in oppoſition to Nardini, at all the games of the goddeſs Flora were celebrated her Circus; and that by miſtaking a paſſage of Ovid, at antiquary has made two feſtivals of Flora out of ne, which was held the laſt day of April, or the rſt of May. Borrichius was a Dane, and profeſſor Copenhagen. It appears from different paſſages his book, that he travelled in Italy, France, nd England towards the year 1665; and publiſhed is little treatiſe about twenty years after his return ome. Without his telling us that he was a Dane, e ſhould eaſily perceive it, from his manner of eaking concerning the triumph of Marius on Mount ſquiline. At beholding this monument of the defeat the Cimbri, his patriotiſm is inflamed, a noble dignation ſeizes his ſoul. He aſcribes the victory of e Romans to the ſun, the winds, and fortune; to very cauſe rather than the valor of Marius.

October 12. — An appearance of philoſophy, with al ignorance; thoughts trivial or falſe; affectation ſtyle; exaggeration or vulgarity of deſcription; ch is the new work entitled *Amuſements of Reaſon*, hich was lent to me by Mr. C...; and in which I find ither reaſon nor amuſement. The author's preface his tranſlation of the "*Wiſe Man's Recreations*," impertinent in the extreme. *Of what uſe is it to know author's name? What has that name to do with his ork?* A great deal with his deſign, his alluſions, &c. t nothing with the ſentence that we ought to paſs his philoſophical opinions.

13.]—I this day began a very conſiderable taſk; which was to read *Cluverius' Italia Antiqua, in two volumes folio: Leyden, 1724. Elzevirs.* The author did not live to ſee its publication; but had completely finiſhed it before his death. His editor tells us that he had in contemplation to write an univerſal geography on the ſame plan, and that after deſcribing Germany, Italy, and Sicily, he meant to treat of Gaul, Greece, and all the other countries known to the ancients. Strabo comprehended the ſame ſubject in ſeventeen books; of which the countries deſcribed by Cluverius, in four volumes in folio, occupy nearly three. The whole deſign that learned man would have extended to twenty three volumes in folio. Had he lived a few years longer, he would perhaps have executed this vaſt undertaking. We ſhould then have had an immenſe repertory on the ſubject of ancient geography, treated indeed with a degree of circumſtantial minuteneſs which no other countries perhaps deſerve but Greece and Italy. A man of letters is deſirous to know every corner of thoſe celebrated countries, the ſmalleſt vil lages of which are diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory or poetry. I begin to read Cluverius with the ſame views that I read Nardini, both to prepare me for my journey into Italy, and to aſſiſt me in my future ſtudies. These two authors, ſtudied with care and reflection, will ſerve me as a perpetual commentary; ſo that I ſhall not be a ſtranger in any part of Rome or Italy, to which my inquiries may lead me. I this day read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi. p.* 1—. Theſe ſix chapters are preparatory to his particular deſcription. He examines in them the different names

f Italy, its limits, extent, figure, Mount Apennine, hich divides the country; its ſoil, climate, inhabi- nts, and languages. He every where cites his thorities in their own words, and ſpeaks only caſionally himſelf, to reconcile, explain, or correct em. Mr. D'Anville accuſes him too haſtily of nfounding the Roman mile with that of the modern lians *. Cluverius does not confound them; he new that of modern Italy to be the longeſt of the o, and has explained himſelf very clearly on that bject *. This knowledge indeed was not of much e to him, ſince he was ignorant of the exact pro- rtion which the one mile bore to the other.

October 14.] — I read Cluverius, *L. i. C. vii, viii, x, xi. p.* 46—90. He travels along the coaſt of guria from the Varus, which ſeparated that diſtrict m Gaul, to the Macra, by which it was bounded on ſide of Tuſcany. This coaſt is rocky and barren; d, by denying all other advantages to its inhabi- ts, tended to increaſe their ſtrength and courage. is extraordinary that this enterpriſing people uld never have thought of croſſing the Apennines, order to ſettle in the beautiful plain which lies tween thoſe mountains and the Po: and that they uld have finally been indebted for this acquiſition a political arrangement of the Romans. I was uſed by the article *Pollentia.* There Stilico fought army of the Goths. The Chriſtian writers repre- t this tranſaction as a ſcandalous piece of unſuc- ſful treachery, from which nothing but ſhame rued to the Romans. Claudian, on the contrary, agan poet, conſiders Stilico's battle as equal to

Marius's victory over the Cimbri, and extols the conqueror as a hero who avenged the cauſe of his country, and delivered all Italy from the tyranny of barbarians.

October 16.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L.* i. *C. xii, xiii, xiv. p.* 90—102. He ſets before us the policy of Auguſtus, who in all his tranſactions preferred ſlow and gentle meaſures. Julius Cæſar had ſubdued the Gauls, but his conqueſt was precarious while the Alps were peopled by fierce nations, who commanded all the paſſes. Auguſtus was under the neceſſity of reducing ſome of them by arms; but he perſuaded Cottius, who reigned over the mountains which bore his name, to civilize his ſubjects, to receive a Roman garriſon, and to open the roads through his country. It would be curious to know the circumſtances of this negociation. I imagine that Auguſtus ſo much flattered Cottius with empty honors, as to make him forget that he was ſurrendering his independence and power. This at leaſt would have been in the uſual ſtyle of his policy.

17.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antq. L. i. C. xv, xvi, xvii. p.* 102—133. The article of the *Rhæti* and the *Euganei* is ſomewhat puzzling. Verona was a Rhætian colony. The thing is poſſible; but for a long time its inhabitants, aſſuming the character of Gauls, conſidered *Brixia* as their mother-country. Verona would have been placed more naturally among the *Cenomani;* and the *Rhæti* ought to have been confined to their native mountains, as they were in fact. In treating of theſe mountains as connected with Italy I would alſo have taken notice that my obſervation

lated to only one portion of the Rhætians. This mark would have contributed to the perſpicuity of e whole of the deſcription.

October. 18.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. xviii. p.* 133—169. The author conducts us through e province called *Venetia*. He dwells on Padua, d its famous fountain *Apona*. In ſpeaking of the rtus *Venetus*, near to *Altinum*, where Venice now nds, he treats at conſiderable length of the era of foundation, from which he cuts off a century th much probability; ſince in the time of Theodoric d Caſſiodorus, the Venetian iſles contained nothing thuts of fiſhermen. The people on the neighbour- coaſt of Italy ſought refuge there, rather againſt e fury of the Lombards, than againſt that of e Huns. The community which theſe emigrants abliſhed, muſt have long continued weak d dependant, an object of pity or contempt neighbouring princes, eſpecially to conquerors. ithout pretending to have deeply examined the ject, I am convinced that the liberty of Venice ght to be dated from the downfal of the empire he Franks. This empire, we may obſerve, con- uted far more than the Croiſades to make the entals extend the name of Franks or Frenchmen ll the nations of the Weſt. It is not ſurpriſing that Mahometans ſhould be ſo ignorant of the inctions among the nations of Europe, when a ek emperor " gives the name of France to the vince of *Venetia*, which Charlemagne conquered h the reſt of Lombardy. In uſing this name, the peror's miſtake is ſtill more glaring; ſince he is lty of an anachroniſm of three centuries. Cluverius

indeed gives a different interpretation to Constantine's words; but the above meaning appears to me to be the most natural.

October 19.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq.* L. C. *xix, xx. p.* 169—204. He treats of the Carni. Augustus assigned this people to *Venetia*, and contracted the boundary of Italy within the river *Arsia*. He speaks at length of *Aquileia*, the first city in the province, and the ninth in the whole empire. Its fortifications, built after the fashion of the ancients, and its natural strength, enabled it to cover the frontier of Italy most exposed to invasion from the Illyrians. Its intermediate situation between polished and barbarous nations, became the source of opulence acquired by its commerce with both. If traffic consisted merely in the mutual exchange of commodities, an industrious nation ought to wish for neighbours as industrious as itself. This principle of my friend Mr. Mirabeau appears to me incontrovertible. He who wishes to sell his goods, seeks for those who need, and can purchase them. Such purchasers are only to be found in rich and industrious countries. But this mutual exchange is only one part of the extensive and enterprising commerce. Another, still more profitable, is carried on by bold and adventurous, but judicious mariners, who sail in quest of the productions of foreign countries, to carry them to the nations to whom they are objects of desire: and when countries have emerged from that state of barbarism which renders them totally inaccessible to strangers, the more ignorant their inhabitants are, the profit of trading with them will be the greater, because

cauſe their articles of exportation will be ſold far low their real value, and in that rude ſtate of ture, which will leave the whole advantage of nufacturing them to their purchaſers. *Aquileia* was ced in moſt favorable circumſtances for carrying traffic with barbarians. 1. This trade was ſecured merely by unjuſt and precarious treaties, but by laws of nature, and local ſituation. It was carried by land acroſs the Julian Alps, the paſſage through ich was naturally commanded by Aquileia. Padua Milan would have had great diſadvantage in the petition. Maritime commerce is quite different, ſea being always open to thoſe who have induſtry boldneſs. 2. This trade was eaſy. The mer- ndize was conveyed on waggons to *Nauportus*, ant from Aquileia only fifty miles; and the paſſage Mount *Albius* was the eaſieſt in the Alps. It was tranſported by navigable rivers from *Nauportus* e Danube. 3. The merchants of Aquileia muſt been great gainers by dealing in ſlaves, whom purchaſed at a cheap rate. They had coſt nothing blood to their barbarous maſters; to keep them hoſe hands would have been not only uſeleſs, xpenſive and dangerous. But they were valuable es of trade with poliſhed nations. Italy alone nded a conſtant and large ſupply, for the oſes of domeſtic ſervice, the ſhows, and ulture. Slaves who had only bodily ſtrength ſure of ſelling well; but when they ſhowed any ſition for the arts and ſciences, their new maſters careful to cultivate it; and then ſold at a high that mind and ingenuity which they had not

purchased. That principle of improvement, which has place only in man, became a gainful object of commerce. The slave-trade, it may be remarked, can be supported only by barbarians; for civilized nations purchase slaves, but do not produce them. 4. The merchants of Aquileia bought slaves with wine and oil, the produce of their country; so that both the exports and imports were much in their favor.

October 20.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L.* C. *xxi, xxii, xxiii. p.* 204—337. After speaking of Istria where the Greek fables vainly placed the mouth of the Danube, he returns backwards to examine Cisalpine Gaul. He begins by giving a general notion of the country, and the colonies which went from Celtic Gaul. The first particulars which he mentions relate to the *Lævi* and *Libici*, who inhabited the frontiers of Piedmont and the Milanese, and who depended on the powerful nation of the *Insubres*.

I went to the public library, of which my friend Pavilliard had given me the key, to consult some books — 1. *A Dissertation, by Mr. Freret*, treating the famous passage in Pliny concerning the circuit of Rome. I read and abridged his explanation, with a view to Nardini. 2. The Gauls, whom I just mentioned, made me curious to know the fate of the other colony, which penetrated at the same time into Germany. For this purpose, I consulted *Cluverius Germania Antiqua.* 3. I also consulted *Pitiscus Dictionary of Antiquities*, for clearing up some difficulties in Juvenal. The articles *Abella*, *Mantua*, *Bardaicus*, *Lectica*, *Carpentum*, *Rheda*, *Essedum*

cisium, furnished me with agreeable occupation. That of Lectica is particularly well treated.

I finished *the twenty-fifth volume of the Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* I had not neglected that work, but was obliged to wait for the continuation. It contains *Quintilian, by Gesner:* a good edition of an excellent author. — *The Voyage of the Legate Mezzabarbà to China, by Farther Viani.* It treats of the idle controversy respecting the Chinese ceremonies. It appears from the narrative that the emperor had diverted himself at the expense of the good legate, and with the intrigues of the Jesuits, whom he despised as missionaries, though he esteemed them as men of letters. — *Strictura Juris Romani, à Jensio.* This writer alledges strong arguments for proving that Justinian's Code was written in Greek, and that the Latin text, which has come down to us, is only a translation. — *Anti Machiavel* Reinsberg and Potzdam inspire very different ideas; the one produced the Anti Machiavel, and the other, the Military Instructions. When the king of Prussia composed a work on justice and clemency; it was fit that Voltaire should be at the expense of publishing it. — *The History of Denmark by Cragius; first Extract.* It contains only the author's life, who flourished towards the end of the sixteenth century. — *Corpus Juris Germanici:* a work published under the eyes of Heineccius, containing a collection of the laws of the ancient nations of Germany, equally interesting to the philosopher and the lawyer. Mr. Heineccius, in a learned preface, proves clearly, that the Franks made the famous Salic laws, when they were yet Pagans, and still

remained in Franconia, a little before the election of their first king; in one word, towards the year 400; and that they wrote them in Latin, as they still remain, except that the first Christian kings made some alterations.

October 21.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq.* L. i. C. *xxiv*, *xxv*, *xxvi*, *xxvii*. He treats of the *Insubres*, *Orobii*, *Cenomani*, *Ananes* or *Anamani*. The difference of names does not always infer that of nations; and this last difference is often grounded on political rather than physical reasons; for of the nine Gallic nations established in Italy, the names of four only are to be found in their native country; and the *Boii*, scarcely known in Gaul, formed both in Germany and in Italy the most numerous and formidable of all the Gallic colonies. I reckoned the *Insubres* among the Gauls, on the authority of all the ancients; but was surprised to see Mr. Freret classing them with the *Ombri*. Polybius indeed calls them *Isombri*, which in Celtic signifies the *Lower Ombri* "". But Polybius acknowledges them for Gauls ""; and even did he maintain the contrary, his authority, great as it is, ought not to prevail over the united testimony of antiquity. Accuracy and probity shine in his writings. He was a soldier, a statesman, and a philosopher; but I doubt whether he was a good grammarian, or a profound antiquary.

October 22.] — Before returning Nardini, which was wanted for the public library of Geneva, I this morning again went over it carefully, endeavouring to impress its principal contents on my memory. Human infirmity always loses a part; but I see with

pleaſure that much remains, and will continue to remain, with me.

I read *Cluverius. Ital. Antiq. L i C. xxviii, xxix.* p. 271—316. This was a good deal, conſidering that I ſpent the day abroad, and had only the evening before and after ſupper, for ſtudy. Theſe two chapters compriſe the reſt of Ciſpadane Gaul. The *Boii*, *Lingones*, and *Senones*, inhabited the dutchies of Parma and Modena, of Ferrara and Urbino; as well as the particular diſtricts of the Romagna and Bologneſe. The Gauls therefore extended to the river *Æſis*, which ſeparated them from Italy. But ſpeedily the Romans expelled the *Senones*, and added their country to Umbria, eſtabliſhing the Rubicon for the boundary of Italy. As they were perſuaded that the Gallic nations on their ſide of the Po could always be formidable neighbours, they compelled the *Boii* to quit their country. They new-modelled, in fine, the whole province, which they filled with Roman fortreſſes; a neceſſary but ruinous policy, which, in order to preſerve the dominion of countries, rendered them deſolate; for a few cities, built and peopled by the conquerors, ill compenſated for the loſs of the numerous tribes of barbarians formerly inhabiting the plains, foreſts, and mountains. This province was croſſed by the Emilian road from *Pollentia* to *Arimi-num*, which on both ſides ſhowed many flouriſhing towns. But at a little diſtance from the road nothing was to be ſeen but deſerts: the reſt was the work of artifice and oſtentation. In the latter times of the republic, the tranſpadane region was the ſcene of many important tranſactions. 1. The war of Modena,

between Mark Antony and the Conſuls. 2. The interview of the Triumvirs in the little iſland of *Renus*, near Bologna. 3. The paſſage of the Rubicon by Julius Cæſar. The events and places are well aſcertained by Cluverius. The paſſage of the Rubicon might be the ſubject of a good political and military commentary. Cæſar had always fixed his winter-quarters at Lucca, when he wiſhed only to communicate more eaſily with his friends at Rome, without leaving his province. But at the approach of war, he eſtabliſhed his quarters at Ravenna. Let us endeavour to explain his motives for this alteration. 1. He wiſhed to get poſſeſſion of Picenum, a rich and populous country, and thus deprive Pompey of the reſources which he might have found in a province extremely devoted to his family; and from which that general might have made legions ſpring up merely by ſtriking the ground with his foot. 2. He wiſhed to turn the capital with his army. Had he attempted to march ſtraight to Rome, Pompey would have made himſelf maſter of the difficult paſſes, and ſtopped his progreſs; and Italy would have become the theatre of war. But by marching towards *Ariminum*, *Aſculum*, *Corfinium*, and *Sulma*, he made it ſeem to be his deſign to cut off the retreat of his enemies; and his boldneſs threw them into ſuch conſternation, that they haſtened to embark at *Brunduſium*. 3. He wiſhed to make ſure of *Ariminum*. This important place was diſtant from the *Rubicon* eighteen miles by the Emilian road, and only eleven by that of Ravenna. Cæſar could ſend forward bodies of troops to the river under twenty different pretences

but the moment he paſſed it, his deſigns were unmaſked. *Ariminum*, therefore, was to be ſurpriſed by a forced march; and it is not neceſſary to be Cæſar, to perceive how much that enterpriſe might be facilitated by diminiſhing the diſtance by ſeven miles, or a march of two hours.

October 23.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxx, xxxi, xxxii. p.* 316 — 355; which contains a general deſcription of the Alps, as well as of their particular branches, diſtinguiſhed by the epithets, Maritime, Cottian, Greek, Pennine, Rhetian, Tridentine, Noric, Carnic, Julian, Pannonian; and alſo a deſcription of ſome particular mountains, as *Veſulus*, *Matrona*, *Adula*, and *Ocra*.

I read the ſixteenth volume of the *Bibliothéque Raiſonnée*. It contains *the Orations of Lyſias, by Doctor Taylor:* a good and beautiful edition of a languid orator. The oration, which is inſerted entire, gives a very accurate idea of the economy of an Athenian family. — *The Hiſtory of French Poetry, by the Abbé Maſſieu.* The work is imperfect; but it ſufficiently indicates the taſte and amenity of its author. He ſpeaks of the verſes of the Emperor Adrian to his ſoul, and of thoſe made by the Princeſs Margaret before her ſhipwreck; but thoſe of Villon, after his condemnation to an infamous death, are ſtill more extraordinary. — *The Theology of Water, by Mr. Fabricius:* a good philoſophical compoſition. — *Corteſi's Dialogues on the learned Men of Italy, after the Revival of Letters.* Corteſi had talents; but he is liable to all the ridicule of a hyperbolical Ciceronian. — *Letters on Rouſſeau and Saurin.* Theſe letters are

unconnected: the first is by the Abbé d'Olivet; the second by an anonymous writer of Lausanne. This writer only attacks Saurin; but the Abbé undertakes to defend Rousseau. To how many pleadings has this endless process given birth!—*History of Denmark, by Cragius*; second Extract. Meursius much availed himself of Cragius's manuscript.

October 24.] —I finished the first book of *Cluverius*, *C. xxxiii*, *xxxiv. p.* 355—418. He treats of the passages of the Alps, and of the first who crossed them; Hercules, the Gauls, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Pompey. The discussion concerning Hannibal's march, and the road which he followed into Italy, is learned and curious. The following is the result of my reading and careful reflection on the subject. 1. By heaping together passages, and collecting all the authorities furnished by antiquity and the middle ages, it is easy to conceal our real poverty under the ostentation of riches; but when these authorities are weighed in the balance of sound criticism, we shall find but two authors deserving the name of originals, who have been servilely copied by all their followers. These two are Livy and Polybius. Did their accounts correspond, nothing would remain but to study and follow them; but unfortunately their sentiments are so different, that this is impossible, and we must make an option. Livy carries Hannibal over the Cottian Alps, properly Mount Genevre, near Turin, and makes him descend by this passage into the country of the *Taurini*, now the plain of Piedmont. Polybius leads him by the *Summus Penninus*, or Great St. Bernard, in the country of

Salaſſi, now the *valley of Aouſt.* 2. To decide
iciouſly between theſe oppoſite authorities, we
ſt weigh the character of the witneſſes, and con-
r the nature of their teſtimony. Nobody admires
re than I do, the hiſtorical merit of Livy, the
jeſtic flow of his narrative; in which events follow
h other with rapidity, yet without hurry or con-
on; and the continual beauty and energy of his
e, which tranſports his readers from their cloſets
the ſcene of action. But here we have to do,
with the orator, but with the witneſs. Conſi-
ed in this view, Livy appears merely as a man of
ers covered with the duſt of his library, little
uainted with the art of war, careleſs in point of
graphy, and who lived two centuries after Han-
al's expedition. In the whole of his recital, we may
ceive rather a romantic picture, calculated to
ſe the fancy, than a faithful and judicious hiſtory,
able of ſatisfying the underſtanding. The god
o appeared to the Carthaginian general ", the
ntains acceſſible to him alone, the vinegar with
ch he ſplit the rocks ", are fables which Livy
es without criticiſm as without ſuſpicion. We
to read Homer deſcribing the exploits of Achil-
In Polybius, on the other hand, we meet with
ing but unadorned ſimplicity and plain reaſon.
uſtneſs of thinking rare in his age and country,
d with a ſterility of fancy ſtill more rare, made
prefer the truth, which he thoroughly knew,
rnaments which he was perhaps the more in-
d to deſpiſe, becauſe he felt himſelf incapable
aining them. He had examined, attentively

and ſkilfully, with his own eyes, the country b
tween the Po and the Ebro: where he might colle
the precious remains of tradition which the perio
of ſixty years had not been able to efface; and whe
he might converſe with ſome of the old men of t
country, who had in their youth either reſiſte
Hannibal's invaſion, or followed his ſtandard. H
journey to thoſe parts was undertaken with the e
preſs purpoſe of gaining information in the count
itſelf, and of ſubſtituting, inſtead of the fables whi
already overflowed the public, a plain and authen
hiſtory of this famous expedition of the Carth
ginians". The work which has come down to u
is the fruit of this deſign. To finiſh the parallel,
muſt add that Livy's narrative cannot be reconcil
with itſelf any more than with that of Polybius. H
obſcurities and contradictions baffle the ableſt ge
graphers"; whereas the account of Polybius is cl
and well connected. The valley, being divided
the Rhone, aſcertains the country through wh
Hannibal made his approach to the Alps; from wh
he emerged into the territory of the *Inſubres*". B
theſe circumſtances clearly indicate the paſſage of
great St. Bernard. 3. Livy, in the Auguſtan a
could not deſcribe the events of the ſecond Pu
war but from ancient authorities. A paſſage in
hiſtorian informs us who was his voucher for
particulars of Hannibal's march. It was Hanno
himſelf. Is not this authority better than that
Polybius? or rather, what can be ſaid in oppoſi
to the teſtimony of a general giving an accoun
the country through which he paſſed? This inte

ng circumſtance deſerves to be explained, and the explanation, curious in itſelf, will throw much light on the whole queſtion. L. Cintius Alimintus, one of the moſt ancient annaliſts of the republic, was taken priſoner in the ſecond Punic war. His captivity gave him an opportunity of one night hearing the converſation of Hannibal, in which that general confeſſed, that from the time when he paſſed the Rhone, to that of his entering the country of the Taurini in Italy, he had loſt 36,000 men, and a great number of horſes". This converſation, which was preſerved by Cintius in his hiſtory, was ſufficient to turn the balance, and to make Livy reject the received account, which brought Hannibal into Italy by the country of the Salaſſi, and not that of the Taurini. The following are the words of the original: *Ex ipſo autem audiſſe Hannibale, poſtquam Rhodanum tranſierit, triginta ſex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum, & aliorum jumentorum amiſiſſe in Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens eſt, in Italiam ingreſſo.* Before examining whether this converſation be as deciſive as it at firſt ſight appears, it may be aſked whether it actually took place. Vanity is a ſtrong principle, and the notion of deriving our intelligence from the mouth of a hero, and an enemy, is ſo flattering to the mind, that this Hannibal perhaps was no other than ſome very ill-informed ſoldier belonging to the Carthaginian camp. I acknowledge, however, that bare poſſibility is not ſufficient to juſtify this ſuſpicion, unleſs we could ſupport it by proofs which are now wanting, namely, the perſonal character of Cintius, the opinion formed by con-

temporaries of his hiſtory, and the time of its publi-
cation before or after Hannibal's death. I give up
therefore this conjecture; and, taking the conver-
ſation for authentic, ſhall make ſome remarks on its
purport. 1. Is it poſſible without temerity to reject
the authority of Hannibal for that of Polybius? A
geographer ſtudies countries in the names or arbi-
trary ſigns by which they are known. A general
ſtudies the countries themſelves. He aſcends an
eminence to learn the general outline; and mounts
on horſeback to examine the detail; converſing with
the inhabitants to diſcover circumſtances which
would otherwiſe eſcape his obſervation. Having
acquired this real knowledge of the places themſelves,
he is careleſs of the names by which they are called.
Theſe names are eaſily effaced from his memory,
eſpecially in barbarous countries, where their num-
ber is ſmall. His multiplied occupations rapidly
ſucceed to each other; and his old ideas are gradually
obliterated to make room for others which are more
important, becauſe more connected with the actual
ſtate of his affairs. In what a perpetual ſtorm did
Hannibal live after paſſing the Alps till he won the
battle of Cannæ? Cintius, I am perſuaded, was not
taken priſoner before that memorable engagement,
previouſly to which Hannibal was too much exaſpe-
rated againſt the Romans to talk familiarly with his
captives". May it not therefore be ſuſpected that
at the end of two years he had loſt an accurate recol-
lection of thoſe barbarous names? In the famous
retreat of the 10 000, the general has recorded his
own exploits. His narrative, however, is not

xempt from errors and geographical difficulties. The negligence of Xenophon in an elaborate composition, will remove our ſurpriſe at that of Hannibal in a ſimple converſation. 2. Theſe doubts appear o me well founded; yet I perceive that they have he appearance of too much refinement, and that the reat name of Hannibal will be ſufficient to make hem vaniſh. Let us give full credit, then, to his ccuracy, and only inquire whether the ſame be due his ſincerity. According to the barbarous maxims f antiquity, a priſoner of war was treated as a criminal. He was loaded with irons, caſt into a dungeon, elivered over ſometimes to the cruelty of an executioner, without the ſmalleſt regard to his rank, birth, merit. In this pretended converſation, Hannibal ys aſide ordinary maxims, and talks with a Roman iſoner with not only mildneſs, but confidence. intius could not have had this interview with annibal, unleſs the Carthaginian had taken the ouble to bring it about; and with what view could at be, except to deceive him? Perhaps this general, ho excelled as much in artifice as in valor, wiſhed conceal from the Romans the road by which he d entered into Italy, and to cover the march of reinforcements which he yet expected. The omans had never fought among the Alps, the ocity of whoſe inhabitants had involved them in h obſcurity, that Hannibal might make the ſoner believe what fables he pleaſed concerning countries which he had traverſed. 3. A way of uing ſtill more natural and milder remains, which to explain Hannibal's converſation, inſtead of

calling in queſtion either its reality or ſincerity. H
wiſhed to give an idea of the loſſes which he h
ſuſtained in paſſing the mountains, in conſequenc
of battles, cold, and fatigue. He begins therefo
from his croſſing the Rhone, and ends at his arriv
in the territory of the *Taurini*; ſince it was really
their country, and by taking their capital, that
began his operations in Italy [*]. Their territor
therefore, formed the limit between two thin
totally diſtinct; his loſſes in Italy and thoſe in t
Alps. It was not neceſſary that the country of t
Taurini ſhould be the firſt place of Italy into whi
he deſcended from the Alps; it ſufficed that it w
the firſt where he fought a battle. The form
explication is adopted by Livy, but the latter appe
to me very capable of being defended. It depriv
the Latin hiſtorian of what appears to him a deciſi
proof. It even turns this alledged proof againſt hi
ſelf, by laying open the ſource of his miſtake. T
argument on which Livy builds, is not only refut
but deſtroyed; and the authority of Polybius ſubſi
alone and unrivalled. I confeſs indeed that the ſe
of this famous paſſage is rather gueſſed at, th
explained; ſo perplexed, defective, and faulty
its conſtruction. Critics have endeavoured to cor
it; but it ſhould ſeem more natural to ſay that L
copied Cintius, and that the latter had preſer
the very words of the Carthaginian general, w
ſpoke Latin like a foreigner. 4. In our ſearch a
hiſtoric truth, we muſt pay a regard to author
and probability; to the character of the author, a
to the nature of the facts which he records. Altho

e first is entirely on the side of Polybius, yet the cond offers some circumstances which it is difficult explain on his hypothesis, and which appear even ntrary to probability. 1. When we cast our eyes the map, we must be surprised that a general of annibal's abilities should have followed so circui- us a road as that of St. Bernard, which was long, fficult, and surrounded by barbarians, who were ther Germans than Gauls. It is of no weight to y, that he wished to keep clear of the sea, and of e army of Scipio. The observation is just; but see whether is applies to the present question, we ust make ourselves acquainted with Hannibal's uation and views. After he had passed the Rhone, s Numidians met with a little check from Scipio's valry. The Romans wished to come to a general gagement, which Hannibal desired to avoid, ing convinced that they were only to be subdued Italy itself. He therefore silently raised his camp, ined a march of three days on the enemy; and on e fourth day arrived, without being pursued, at e conflux of the Rhone and the Isere". The omans could not overtake him. The loss of three ys is not to be recovered in contending with a neral, active and vigilant; and who, by the eriority of his light-armed cavalry, was able to nceal his own movements, and to make himself quainted with those of the enemy. Hannibal was t therefore afraid of being pursued; he soon learned at such fear would have been groundless; that ipio's army continued its march into Spain; and at the consul himself returned into Italy, to take

the command of the army on the banks of the Po Hannibal being delivered from all uneaſineſs on this ſubject, made a halt in the country of the Allobroges decided a conteſt between the heirs of the crown and prepared his troops for the fatigues which they were going to undertake. In chuſing his route into Italy, he could be determined by no other conſideration but that of preferring the ſhorteſt and the most convenient. But the paſſage by St. Bernard is certainly not the ſhorteſt. 2. Neither is it the moſt convenient. In the reign of *Auguſtus*, when Roman policy had levelled the Alps, that prince made two military ways, which, diverging from *Auguſta Prætoria*, again united at Lyons. One of those roads, which croſſed the Pennine Alps, was ſtill ſo difficult that it could not be paſſed by carriages. When we conſider how much more difficult it muſt have been in the time of Hannibal, it is not credible that that general ſhould have been either willing, or able, to croſs it with his great numbers of horſes and elephants. 3. Hannibal conſumed fifteen days in paſſing the Alps, from which four days muſt be deducted, two of which were ſpent on the top of the mountains, and two employed in clearing the road from the ſnow. The breadth of the Alps, according to Polybius, is 1200 ſtadia (150 Roman miles [17]). This calculation agrees with the geography of the country; but is the march conſiſtent with probability? Is it poſſible for a numerous army to proceed fourteen miles a day, acroſs mountains where the ſoldiers were obliged continually to ſtruggle againſt the difficulties of the road, and often

repel the attacks of the mountaineers? I have great ſpect for Polybius' authority, but cannot help oubting the fact. Theſe are ſome of the difficulties hich occur in his narrative, and which are not to deſpiſed. 5. Our reſearches having brought us ck to our firſt uncertainty, how are we to form opinion? Polybius' narrative has all the external idence that can be deſired; but that of his rival ems more conſiſtent with other circumſtances that well aſcertained. One reflection may ſuffice to gulate our deciſion. It is more probable that *we* uld be deceived, than that the above circumſtan- ſhould have eſcaped the notice of Polybius. eſe circumſtances are indeed important; but y are not deciſive. The firſt and moſt conſiderable ends on many ſuppoſitions; that the text both Livy and Polybius is corrupt; that inſtead of the known word *Scaras*, and of *Arar*, which is miſ- ed, we ſhould read on both occaſions *Iſara*. I nowledge that this correction is extremely pro- le, but probabilities, which reſult from other babilities, continually grow weaker as they de from their ſource. If I ſuppoſe on my ſide; hat the Allobroges then occupied a part of the tory of the *Ambarri*; 2. that the word *triduo* in y is corrupt; 3. that Hannibal paſſed the Rhone er than is ſuppoſed, the firſt objection totally ppears. Hannibal, at the confluence of the ne and Saone, followed the ſhorteſt rout into , when he croſſed the Great St. Bernard. Let us lude then, though with ſome remzinder of ſcep- n, that though Livy's narrative has more of

probability, yet that of Polybius has more of truth". There is one perplexing conſideration behind. In Mr. D'Anville's map of Hannibal's expedition, that accurate geographer, whoſe poſitions are always choſen on reflection, makes the Carthaginians paſs by the Cottian Alps. I am ſtopped and ſilenced by the authority of this learned man, which in this caſe is the greater becauſe he conceals the reaſons on which his opinion is founded.

October 25.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. C.* *p.* 418—433. The author treats of the name and origin of the Tuſcans. He rejects, with Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, their pretended Lydian deſcent and believes with that hiſtorian that they were indigenes. But as Cluverius was a good Chriſtian what idea could he affix to that word? There is however, one, which I doubt whether he was ſenſible of: it is that of a nation formed by the re-union of different families, ſettled in the country at different times, and independently of each other. The nation and body politic is indigenous, but not the individuals.

I finiſhed the *Bibliothéque Raiſonnée*, volume the twenty-ſeventh. It contains the *Jubilee of Printing by Mr. Seiz.* He ſupports the pretenſions of Harlem and endeavours to prove that Laurence Coſtar, a citizen of that place, diſcovered in 1440 that beautiful art, which the diſhoneſty of his ſervant Fauſtus carried with him to Mentz. The narrative appears clear, well connected, and free from difficulties; yet if printing was invented at Harlem, it appears extraordinary that all the countries of Europe ſhou

ave received it, or believe they received it from Mentz. Could ſo many daughters agree in miſtaking heir mother? I am not ignorant of Corſelis' voyage o England; but after Dr. Middleton's refutation, it is o longer allowable to cite that fable.—*A Collection f ſome ſmall Works on the Pronunciation of Greek, by Mr. Havercamp.* In this famous diſpute, Eraſmus, with is ordinary prudence, uſed the ancient pronuncia- on, though he ſeemed to approve the new. When e conſider the ſtorms excited by this ridiculous ueſtion in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, rticularly at Cambridge, his caution will not appear ameable.—*Arretin's Letters.* The beginning of a eat collection of letters between the learned men of e fifteenth century, which is publiſhing in Italy. It ay be uſeful in literary hiſtory.—*The Hiſtory of enmark, by Cragius.* It appears to me well executed. e ſee in it the beginning of the reformation in that untry, and the diſhoneſty of Henry VIII. of gland.—*The Czar Peter I. in France:* a philo- hical romance, the work of a lively and fruitful gination, but deſtitute of taſte or method. Such rks dazzle for a moment, and are forgotten.

October 26.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. ii. i. p.* 434—455. The arts, the luxury, and the es of the Tuſcans, are matter of aſtoniſhment. I ſcarcely believe with Cluverius, that Ciſalpine l was the original ſeat of that nation. It appears e on the contrary from ancient writers, that the cans, from the remoteſt times, inhabited Etruria, perly ſo called, and ſent forth two great colonies, of which was like the mother-country, divided

into twelve communities: one of which colonies expelled the *Ombri* from the whole of that tract which lies between the Alps and the Appenines, while the other formed ſettlements in Campania. It might have been ſaid in that age, almoſt without exaggeration, that the Tuſcans were maſters of Italy. The firſt of thoſe colonies was ſubdued by the Gauls eight centuries before the Chriſtian era, when it was already rich and powerful, but ſoftened by luxury. The mother-country exhibited the ſame character in ſtill ſtronger colors. It verged towards its ruin. How many ages muſt have been required for this ſlow, but ſure progreſſion, by which nations proceed from barbariſm to induſtry, arts, luxury and effeminacy? We cannot doubt the fact; the Tuſcans are certainly one of the moſt ancient nations with which we are acquainted.

October 27.]—I read *Cluverius*, *L. ii. C. ii*, *p.* 455—518. He deſcribes with much accuracy the coaſt of Tuſcany, with the oppoſite iſlands, from Luna to the mouth of the Tiber. We meet everywhere with Greek fables. With reſpect to the great part of Greek writers before Polybius, ſpace may be divided, as Varro divided time, into the hiſtorical, fabulous, and unknown. The hiſtorical ground was confined to Greece, Sicily, Africa, Egypt and Lower Aſia. In the fabulous, I would place Italy, with the countries between Greece and the Danube, and thoſe between the Caſpian ſea and the Euphrates. The countries beyond thoſe limits were altogether unknown. Homer might have ſatisfied the lovers of the marvellous; yet his fables form

he ſmalleſt and moſt probable part of the Greek
nythology.

28]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. iii.* . 518—537. The author treats of *Tarquinii* and *Veii*, the two cities of Tuſcany that were neareſt to Rome. *Tarquinii* was celebrated for the ſcience of ugury, to which it had given birth. The origin of his deceitful art need not be ſought elſewhere: it egan in Tuſcany. The ridiculous fable concerning ages, teaches us that he was a native of the country: is ſucceſs in contriving ſuch an extraordinary ſtem, and in making it be adopted by his countryen, proves him to have been a man of genius. ages ſprung from a furrow; he was not a foreigner. he Chaldean fiſh Oannes ſprung from the ſea; this mbolic language explains itſelf.

The ancients themſelves found it difficult to aſcerin the ſituation of *Veii*. In the time of Lucan, this mous city had already been deſtroyed; and the ins of a place which had been as large as Rome uld ſcarcely be diſcovered. Its ſite could only be nown by its diſtance from the capital; but with ſpect to this diſtance, authors are not agreed. heir opinions may be reduced to the two following. Livy, ſpeaking of the ſiege of Veii, ſays, that it as carried on *within the twentieth mile ſtone*[*]. Eutrous tells us that Veii was eighteen miles diſtant from ome. 2. The Roman itineraries make the diſtance elve miles[**]; and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, a ndred ſtadia, or twelve miles and a half[***]. There two ways of reconciling thoſe opinions. 1. *Vale*, as well as *Veii*, was ſituate on an eminence. The

former was deſtroyed by the Romans, and a town of the ſame name rebuilt on the plain. If a ſimilar change took place with reſpect to *Veii*, Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus would only be guilty of the ſmall miſtake of ſuppoſing *Veii* to have always had the ſame ſite. I am well pleaſed with this explanation. The interval of eighteen miles anſwers better than that of twelve, conſidering the many wars carried on within thoſe narrow limits, between the two rival republics. 2. All differences may be reconciled by giving up the authority of Eutropius, one of the moſt contemptible authors that ever wrote. The Romans had ſurrounded *Veii* with walls and intrenchments. Not ſatisfied with fortifying themſelves on the ſide of the city, they had alſo raiſed bulwarks, to intercept the ſuccours that might be ſent to the beſieged, from the other cities of Tuſcany[42]. *Veii* was therefore twelve miles and a half from Rome, ſince the diameter of a city as extenſive as Athens muſt have been two miles and a half. If the moſt advanced forts on the ſide of Etruria were four miles beyond the city; we have the diſtance of nineteen miles, which ſufficiently juſtifies the expreſſion of Appius Claudius.

October 29.] — I read *Cluverius*, *L. ii. C.* *p* 537—550. That chapter contains a good deſcription of *Faleria*, the capital of the Faliſci; a city which preſerved to the age of Auguſtus clear marks of its Grecian origin.

I went to the public library. In the great collection of Italian Hiſtorians, by Grævius, vol. viii. p. I found a performance of the learned Mazzocc

pretending to prove that *Cività Caſtellana*, thirty miles from Rome, was the ancient *Veii*; and a refutation of that work by my friend Nardini. Mazzocchi muſt have been ſtrangely blinded by his preposſeſſion in favor of his native city. He has not the ſhadow of a proof.

I finiſhed the firſt volume of the *Bibliothéque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Schedius de Diis Garmanis*: an immenſe compilation, without taſte, criticiſm, or diſcernment.—*Henry Ditton's Demonſtration of the Chriſtian Religion.* How groſsly have thoſe two words been abuſed!—*Letters of an Ex-Jeſuit, on the Paradoxes of Father Hardouin.* This learned man is here allowed to ſpeak for himſelf. His zeal for tradition, and his hatred towards the Janſeniſts and the philoſophers, involved him in all his abſurdities. Finding in the fathers, and particularly in St. Auguſtin, many things favorable to the cauſe of his enemies, he was willing to oppoſe facts to opinions, and boldly declared Auguſtine's impious works to be ſpurious. The fall of Auguſtine's work, *de Libero Arbitrio*, brought down with it the other fathers by whom it was quoted. The ruin of the fathers involved that of profane writers: the whole edifice fell in pieces. This was what he called *unſtringing the beads from the roſary of antiquity.* He might have drawn many good thoughts from Mr. Barbeyrac, who wrote an excellent *treatiſe on the morality of the fathers.* How ill did thoſe doctors of the church underſtand the moſt valuable of all ſciences. They prohibited the moſt innocent pleaſures, and the

moſt lawful occupations, as ſavouring of th world, and nearly connected with idolatry. The would have deſtroyed human kind in order t ſanctify it. But on the other hand, regarding it a principle that every action related in the old teſta ment, and not therein condemned, was by this ſilenc approved, they juſtified and praiſed adultery, falſe hood, inceſt, and cruelty.

October 30.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. C. iii, iv, v, vi p.* 550—624. The author deſcribes th other cities of Tuſcany, ſituated inland: *Volſinii Cluſium Aretium, Perugia*, and *Cortona.* The pa ſages which he has collected, reſpecting the lak Thraſymenus, afford a very natural picture of thi famous ſpot, which was bounded on one ſide by th lake itſelf, and on the other by a range of high moun tains, which opened only by two narrow defiles. Th ther Hannibal had the addreſs to decoy the army Flaminius, that it might be taken, as it were, in net. Cluverius afterwards paſſes into *Umbria*, an treats of the origin of its inhabitants, who, notwith ſtanding his opinion to the contrary, appear to hav been Celts. He deſcribes their territory, which w divided in one direction by the Apennines, and i another by the Flaminian Way. That portion of which lies between the ſea, Etruria, and the Appe nines, is the ſubject of his fifth and ſixth chapters.

October 31.]—I remained all day at home, b which Cluverius was a gainer. I read *Ital. Anti L. ii. C. vi, vii, viii, ix, x. p.* 624—722. Nea a hundred pages daily would greatly quicken m progreſs; but ſuch efforts are ſeldom made.

ose four chapters, the author concludes his
count of Umbria by describing that portion of it
hich extends between the Apennines and the terri-
ry of the Sabines. That territory itself forms the
xt object of his research. He treats finally of the
iber, and of the rivers which fall into it. This
apter, with that on the Pô, includes almost all
e rivers in Italy. The river Tiberis was, by a
etical licence, spelt Tybris. The god of the river
as called Tiberinus. All good writers have attended
this distinction, which is pointed out by Servius.
November 1.] — I read *Cluverius, L. ii. C. xi, xii,
ii, xiv, xv. p. 722 — 762.* The author describes
cenum, one of the most fertile and best peopled
tricts in Italy. He then proceeds to several com-
nities, inconsiderable in point of their numbers,
t highly distinguished by their valor, the *Marrucini,
rsi, Vestini*, and *Peligni. Corfinium* was one of
e principal cities belonging to the last. This place
s once in hopes of being highly distinguished. Had
e social war been prosperous, Rome must have
lded to *Corfinium*; which, under the name of
lica, was to have been the head of the new con-
eracy. I shall venture to make some reflections on
s extraordinary war, the principal circumstances
which have been somewhat misrepresented by the
bé Vertot: an author whose works are read with
same pleasure as romances, to which in other
pects they bear too much resemblance. 1. The
bé Vertot introduces the Latines very unseason-
y. "The Latines, those inhabitants of *Latium*
who enjoyed the Latin law, and to whom Drusus

" gave hopes of acquiring the citizenship of Rome;
" rose in arms, when assassination had robbed them
" of their protector[1]." Yet it is certain that the people of *Latium* had no share in this rebellion. They are mentioned but once in the war; and, on that occasion, as sending auxiliaries to the army of the republic[2]. They did not think of renewing an ancient quarrel, which the fortune of war had more than two hundred and fifty years before, decided against them. Previously to their subjugation they had more than once made Rome to tremble. All that Vertot copies from Livy respecting that similarity of language, manners, and military discipline, which gave to the social, the appearance of a civil war, must be referred to the former era[3]. In the time of the social war, Rome was too great to be an object of jealousy to the little cities of *Latium*, which were continually converted into villages and pleasure-houses in the vicinity of the capital. Perpetual communication, and numerous alliances, had cemented the bands of their common origin. Many places had acquired the rights of citizenship; in others, the Latin law gave that right to two families annually. All the cities of Latium enjoyed many advantages, which must have naturally inspired them with affection for Rome, and hatred towards her more recent allies. 2. The author of the History of the Revolutions of Rome, so much exaggerates the strength of the Italian confederacy, that an air of romance is thereby thrown on his whole narrative, though it may not be perceptible to the greater part of his readers. According to his account

ot only the Latines, but all the nations of Italy, igned this alliance, and ſent a common embaſſy to ome, demanding the rights of the city. It is a natter of aſtoniſhment that one city ſhould have een able to make a defence againſt the united force f ſo many allies, whom it had found ſo much diffi- ulty in ſubduing ſucceſſively. Happily this won- erful circumſtance contains as little truth as proba- ility. The abridger of Livy has preſerved the ames of all the communities which compoſed this onfederacy. They were, the *Samnites*, *Lucani*, *icentes*, *Marſi*, *Peligni*, *Veſtini*, and *Marrucini* [a]. Vith regard to this fact, Livy's authority is better an any other; and in ſuch an enumeration, an bridger having nothing to do but to copy, it is to e ſuppoſed that he does it correctly. The Samnites en were at the head of this league, into which ey had prevailed on ſix other communities to enter, ho were their neighbours, allies, or colonies. They ere afterwards joined by ſeveral other cities, but ot until the Romans, recovering from their con- ernation, had recalled their armies from abroad, rtified the paſſes into their territory, and even ained ſeveral victories over the allies. Livy informs s in general of thoſe ſubſequent revolts [b], but the rticulars are to be found in Appian [c] and Strabo [d]. hey number among the rebels, the *Frentani*, *irpini*, *Peucetii*, with ſome cities of Apulia and mbria. Of the former, Appian names *Canuſium* d *Venuſia*; ſpeaking only in general of the *Umbrii*. was ſurpriſed to find this hiſtorian alſo name the *ompeiani* [e]. Theſe could only be the inhabitants

of Pompeii, a maritime city of Campania, near
Naples [71]. Did *Pompeii* exist in the time of th
ſocial war? It cannot be of an earlier date than th
family from which it derived its name; and this famil
was unknown until the time of the great Pompey
father, that Cneius Pompeius Strabo, who w
conſul in the 665th year of Rome, and the ſecon
year of the ſocial war. But ſuppoſing the antiquit
of *Pompeii*, can it be imagined that a ſingle city, an
that a ſmall one, ſhould have ventured to revo
againſt the republic, though ſituate in the midſt
ſo many more important places, which faithfull
maintained their allegiance? I know that the ſce
of the war was changed to Campania, and am willin
to believe that a party of the allies, having take
poſſeſſion of *Pompeii*, there ſtood a ſiege [72]: but th
explication tends rather to extenuate, than to juſtif
Appian's miſtake. I am inclined to ſeek the nam
of the ſtates which entered into confederacy again
Rome, in the narrative which Livy and other hiſt
rians give of the war, rather than to content myſ
with Appian's general deſcription, when he ſa
that the confederacy comprehended all the nation
between the Liris, or Liturnus, and the Ionian ſea
Of this deſcription, one of the clauſes is falſe, an
the other inaccurate. The Ionian ſea is taken in
many different meanings, that it denotes any thi
you will [73]. The *Liris* and *Liturnus* were quite d
ferent rivers, and had only one circumſtance
common, that both were ſometimes called *Clani*
or *Clanius*. Such then were the allies. They ſur
were formidable; but fear or affection ſtill collect

ny Italian nations around the ſtandard of the ublic; the whole of *Latium*, *Campania*, *Brutium*, *labria*, the *Sabines*, all *Etruria*, a part of *Umbria* d *Apulia*, and the whole of the colonies of Magna ræcia. The cities of Tuſcany prepared for joining e allies; but the ſenate warded off this danger, by anting, of its own accord, the rights of the city that important province". A great number of lonies ſpread over all the diſtricts of Italy, whoſe elity being ſecured by intereſt as well as gratitude, pplied the Romans with magazines, and with e protection of their fortreſſes. In thoſe republics hich declared againſt Rome, the citizens were not animous. The Romans had their creatures in ch of thoſe communities, whoſe avowed oppoſi-n, or ſecret intrigues, diſturbed the meaſures of e prevailing party". Each individual ſided with e ſenate or the league, which became the watch-rds of faction, like the names Guelphs and Ghibe-es, which divided and deſolated the ſame country rteen centuries afterwards. The Abbé Vertot, hen he explained the difficulties with which the mans had to contend, ſhould alſo have mentioned e reſources by which they were enabled to ſur-unt them. 3. The nation of the Marſi, though midable by its valor, was inferior in ſtrength to e *Samnites* and the *Picentes*. Yet it had the honor giving its name to the war, which is as well own by the appellation of the *Marſic*, as the *Social*. he Marſi were the only people on the Roman ſide the Apennines, who ventured to declare againſt e republic. Their country became the firſt theatre

of the war, and when the ſenate aſſigned armies to the conſuls, it was by granting them the Marſi for their province. This is not the firſt example of the leaſt conſiderable portion of a league giving its name to the whole. We know the ancient Scythians by the general denomination of Tartars, becauſe the ſmall tribe ſo called always formed the van of the Mogul armies during the extenſive conqueſts of Zingis Khan and his ſucceſſors ". 4. The allies, though finally defeated in the war, obtained the rights of Roman citizens, which they had ſo eagerly deſired. But they obtained this honor only to participate with Rome in all the calamities of which their own revolt had been the principal cauſe; and to ruin that republic and themſelves. Generals commanding armies in the heart of Italy, and Italy converted into one city, whoſe inhabitants were citizens only by a kind of fiction, were circumſtances which too plainly prepared the way for ſlavery. How much muſt the allies have regretted that tranquillity and happy obſcurity, which they had long enjoyed without knowing its value! During the period of a hundred and twenty years that elapſed from the ſecond Punic, to the Social war, the nations of Italy flouriſhed under the mildeſt of all governments. They had loſt that unhappy right of making war on each other, which was no longer neceſſary for their defence. Secure under the protection of the Romans they had nothing to fear from invaders. Their domeſtic diſputes were ſettled by the ſenate, who beheld them all with the ſame paternal eye, and whoſe interpoſition liberated them from the miſerable

ceſſity of having recourſe to arms. In return for
heſe benefits, the whole of Italy ſupplied a body of
fantry equal to that drawn from the ſingle city of
ome, and double the number of cavalry [78]; a light
ontribution in itſelf, and which, by giving a military
rn to their youth, tended to render them reſpect-
ble to the Romans. Their authority was ſovereign,
to all other matters which contribute to the happi-
eſs of nations, namely, the affairs of juſtice, police,
d political economy. They had not to endure the
ranny of governors, as inſolent as rapacious; their
w-ſuits were not carried by appeal to the capital;
d a wall of braſs did not form an unſurmountable
rrier between the citizen and the ſubject. They
ere debarred indeed collectively from the rights of
oman citizens; but whenever an individual proved
at his ambition was juſtified by his merit, Rome
s too attentive to her intereſts not to acknowledge
m for her own [79]. I write in the Pays de Vaud. Its
habitants ought to be contented with their condi-
on; yet it will not gain by a compariſon with that
the people of Italy. I know that ſome advantages
re with-holden from that people by the pride of the
omans, as to the concerns of private life, marriages
taments, &c. I perceive alſo that they had reaſon
complain of ſome acts of violence, eſpecially in
ter times; and I am ſenſible that ſuch things are
re ſtriking to the fancy, than all the general
vantages derived from the operation of good laws,
hich paſs almoſt unobſerved. 5. In undertaking
s war, the allies were guilty of imprudence;
re they alſo unjuſt? Could they juſtify their refu-

ſal to obſerve their former treaties, and the inſurre
tion which their refuſal produced? I do not me
completely to diſcuſs a queſtion as extenſive as it
difficult. I will endeavour; however, to eſtabli
the following principles. 1. The treaties entere
into by the general aſſemblies of two nations oug
to bind their heirs and ſucceſſors; becauſe it is n
preſumable that either party has agreed to ſubmit
any inconvenience without obtaining ſome adv
tage in return; and he who reaps the benefit of o
part of a contract, ought to bear the burden co
tained in the other. The ſame principle does n
apply to treaties entered into between nations a
their leaders. Theſe treaties hardly deſerve t
name, being deſtitute of a condition eſſential to t
validity of every contract; namely, the mutual i
dependence of the parties, and their power to provi
for their reſpective advantages. They deſerve t
name rather of general reſolutions than of treati
and derive their force merely from the will of tho
by whom they were embraced. 2. The validity
a treaty is founded on the will of the contracti
parties. That will ought to be free. It will be grant
that every kind of violence, affecting the bod
renders a contract null; for ſuch violence does n
merely conſtrain, but annihilates the will. But the
is a milder violence which we daily experience, th
acts on the will by preſenting it with the almo
neceſſary alternative of happineſs or miſery.
rarely happens that individuals or nations undert
engagements, unleſs when they are impelled by th
univerſal motive. The law of nature muſt eith
allow

low that this violence is consistent with liberty, or elity to our engagements will be reduced to an pty name. On the other hand, if fear does not llify a promise, honesty must be its own victim, d robbers will acquire a right to all the goods of earth. These difficulties may be removed by following easy and simple distinction. Promises binding only with respect to those who were itled to inflict the evils with which they threated us. These evils not being inflicted, change ir nature, and become real goods bestowed on which serve as a sufficient basis to treaties; being roper compensation for the burdens to which we age to submit. 3. Society reuniting in the body tic the rights and wills of individuals, the community at large enjoy all the rights which were enjoyed by individuals in a state of nature. The right lf preservation holds the first place. It necessarily udes the right of self-defence, of repelling force force, and of subjecting the unjust aggressor to he evils with which he threatens us, even to h itself. This right therefore still subsists in comities; the magistrate is intrusted with the national to make war, not against individuals, but nst the members of a foreign community, of h individuals are merely the instruments. He ks the community only. If his cause is just, he hatred and violence of his antagonist renders eath necessary to his own safety, he then exerthe rights of nature, and takes away his life; s, his civil life, by subduing and destroying the itution of his country. On this principle the

right of conqueſt is founded. If the conqueror ex
ciſe his right in all its rigor, and the conquered
knowledge him for their maſter, I think they
bound to maintain inviolate an engagement
which they have acquired the benefit of public tr
quillity. But from this point, which is perhaps
feebleſt bond of human probity, two kinds of trea
gradually diverge, and gradually gain ſtrength
they remove from their ſource. The firſt is th
where, in proportion as the conqueſt is leſs c
plete, the neceſſity of contracting the obligatio
indeed diminiſhed, but the equality between
parties is increaſed to that perfect independen
which leaves them at the full liberty of their o
wills in their reſpective engagements. If the c
queror, on the other hand, having it in his po
to deſtroy his enemies, has thought proper to l
them, the contract acquires a degree of force
portional to the advantages which he might h
taken away, but which he has been pleaſed to le
The obſervations formerly made concerning
happy ſtate of the people of Italy, ſufficiently ſh
how much validity the wiſdom of the Roman c
querors had given to their treaties with the
quiſhed. 4. But, it will be aſked, had theſe trea
the moſt eſſential of all conditions? The righ
conqueſt ought to be founded on juſtice; a virtu
which thoſe robbers of the earth were ſtranger
wiſh not to enter into hiſtorical diſcuſſions, bec
I am in queſt, not of facts, but of principles. In
preſent ſtate of error, vice, or weakneſs, we
often obliged to give up abſolute truths, for t

t are merely conventional, becauſe the only truths hin our reach. It is thus that, with regard both individuals and ſocieties, reaſon allows us to mine the foundation of their authority, but not to d fault with the manner in which they are pleaſed exerciſe it. Both the right, and the exerciſe of t right, ought to be founded on juſtice; but as reaſon is not always able to diſtinguiſh wherein t juſtice conſiſts, we are obliged to ſuppoſe it the ſide of thoſe whoſe power we are unable to ſt.

have endeavoured to be as conciſe as poſſible, iding reflections merely acceſſory; conſequences; , and above all, applications. On the whole, I forced to give ſentence againſt the allies.

But on every ſuppoſition, Velleius Paterculus is neable. After acknowledging the juſt pretenſions he allies", he has the impudence to praiſe the duct of Minatius Magius, one of his own anceſ-, who, maintaining his fidelity to the Romans, d a legion for their ſervice, and diſtinguiſhed valor in the ſieges of *Herculaneum*, *Pompeii*, and ". But this Minatius, who, according to eius, was the defender of tyrants, could not ap- ve his fidelity to Rome, without being a traitor *ſculum*. It is plain, that the flatterer of Sejanus not a fit judge of the great principles concerning law of nations.

ovember 2.]—I read the continuation of an act in the eleventh volume of the *Bibliothéque onnée*, containing *the hiſtory of Servetus, written r. Alevoerde, under the eyes of the famous Moſheim.*

The journaliſt (perhaps Mr. de la Chapelle) has mad
obſervations and reſearches concerning this extraor
dinary tranſaction, which are far more valuable tha
the book itſelf. The two authors had treated Calvi
with great ſeverity. The reviewer repels the
attacks, which he aſcribes to the rancor of Luther
zeal againſt the patriarch of the Calviniſts. Th
puniſhment of Servetus cannot indeed be juſtified
but, in this buſineſs, Calvin was not actuated b
worldly motives, but by a miſtaken religious zea
and a reſpect for maxims which, though cruel an
ſanguinary, were acknowledged and avowed by
Chriſtian churches. But many obſervations ſti
remain to be made. 1. The examples of church
and theologians who declare in favor of the puni
ment of heretics, are nothing to the preſent queſtio
Men's actions are never leſs guided by their pri
ciples, than when thoſe principles run counter
the natural ſentiments of humanity. The heart he
corrects the errors of the underſtanding. A man
a humane character, under the influence of a fal
zeal, will in his cloſet condemn a heretic to death
but will he drag him to the ſtake? Not to ſhudd
at the ſhedding of innocent blood, requires a hea
totally inſenſible to pity. 2. I acknowledge th
power of falſe zeal and an erroneous conſcience.
is ſufficient to ſilence the voice of pity; but can
ſtifle its murmurs? Will not the unhappy theologi
feel a combat in his own breaſt between religion an
humanity? Will not the outward expreſſions
ſorrow indicate how deeply he is afflicted to ſhed
brother's blood? Brutus ſaw that the death of

ons was neceſſary to ſave the liberty of Rome. He ronounced the fatal ſentence; but had he ſent them o puniſhment without any emotions of grief, it ight have been juſtly ſaid that his natural ferocity indered him from perceiving the magnitude of the crifice that he made, and even that he had ſacrificed em rather to his own hatred and vengeance than to e ſafety of his country. In Calvin's behaviour, I n ſee nothing but the moſt abominable cruelty. e loads Servetus with invectives; he fears leſt his ictim ſhould eſcape from his hands; and, in a tone triumph, paſſes on him his ſentence of condemna-on.' But Servetus did not ſpare the Geneva divine. know it. But the one loaded with reproaches a retch whom he had confined in irons; the other nly breathed out too loudly his agonies of ſuffering. ard muſt be the heart which does not feel the differ-ce! 3. A few years before, Servetus had com-unicated to Calvin all his religious opinions. Their iſtolary correſpondence was of conſiderable dura-on. But when Servetus was ſeized at Vienna, alvin ſent all his letters to the magiſtrates. In this ſtance, he may juſtly be reproached with having olated the tacit promiſe which is always ſuppoſed ſuch a correſpondence, and which an honeſt man ould have held ſacred, inſtead of availing himſelf the frankneſs of this Spaniard, for the purpoſe of ſtroying him. 4. We muſt recollect Calvin's ſitua-on in Geneva. He was the legiſlator of a new re-blic, and experienced the difficulties incident to novators. A numerous faction, headed by the ſt ſyndic, preſſed on him with rancor, and eſpouſed

the cauſe of Servetus becauſe Calvin was his enem
The latter was ſenſible that the proceſs of Servet
was his own: and the reviewer ingenuouſly confeſſ
that unleſs Servetus periſhed, Calvin was ruine
Calvin's friends acknowledge that he was opinio
ative, haughty, and jealous of his authority. I
themſelves draw the conſequence. It was neceſſ
that the throne of the reformer ſhould be cement
with the blood of Servetus. 5. In a letter writ
to an intimate friend, Calvin does not diſſemble
hopes that Servetus would be ſoon condemned
death. He wiſhes, however, that he may eſc
the utmoſt rigor of that puniſhment; probably, t
he might not be burnt alive. Yet this very rigor
afterwards approved by himſelf; and that at a ti
when he was all powerful at Geneva. Either t
reformer concealed his real ſentiments under d
hypocriſy and inquiſitorial mildneſs, or motives v
different from thoſe of religion hindered him fr
ſoliciting from the magiſtrates a favor, which his c
ſcience obliged him to demand, and which he
ſure would not have been refuſed. 6. When
collect and combine all theſe circumſtances with
acknowledged character of the reformer, can
doubt that a hard and cruel heart, an ambiti
ſoul, and hatred towards the man who deſpiſed
inſtructions, and impeached his opinions, un
with religious zeal in impelling Calvin to perſe
the unfortunate Servetus? Voltaire therefore is r
when he ſays, that Calvin had an enlightened m
but an atrocious ſoul.

November 3.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq.*

xv, xvi. p. 762—786; where the firſt volume ends. He concludes his account of the *Marſi*, and then deſcribes the rude and mountainous country of the *Equi*, whom it coſt the Romans, in the infancy of their ſtate, ſo much trouble to conquer. *Alba Fucentia* was a Roman colony in the territory of the *Marſi*, on the banks of the lake *Fucinus*. The pleaſantneſs of the country, and the ſecurity of its inland ſituation, made the Romans often ſend thither priſoners of ſtate, conquered and dethroned kings, to whom they wiſhed to give, inſtead of a priſon, a ſoft and comfortable retreat. Perſeus, king of Macedon, died here, and was honored with a public funeral; a treatment very different from that of the unfortunate Jugurtha, who was thrown into the *Carcer Tullianus*, to die of cold and hunger. The reaſon for this difference will be explained elſewhere [82].

November 4.]—I read *Cluverius*, *L. iii. C. i.* 787—820. He comes at length to the moſt intereſting part of Italy; Latium, and the neighbourhood of the capital; not however without leading us through the tireſome round of the *Oenotri*, *Siculi*, *Pelaſgi*, and *Aborigines*; in which obſcure reſearches the thread of connexion is always ſlipping through our hands. Cluverius had not that clearneſs and criticiſm neceſſary for unravelling the perplexities of thoſe remote antiquities; the difficulties of which Freret has eluded, becauſe he was not able to reſolve them.

I finiſhed *the eighteenth volume of the Bibliothéque raiſonnée*. It contains the *Hiſtory of the Jeſuits*: an ample rhapſody of well-known ſtories, the belief of

which ſuppoſes, perhaps with good reaſon, unbound
ed wickedneſs in the Jeſuits, and unbounded credul
ty in the public. This work, beſides, is ill written
without method, and deformed by digreſſions.—*De
fence of the Tranſlation of the Hiſtory of the Council o
Trent, by Father Courayer.* The reviewer is angry at thi
amiable writer for accepting of the degree of Docto
from the univerſity of Oxford, although he was not
proteſtant. Yet, without coming to a perfect identit
of opinions, the two religions nearly meet; the univer
ſity carrying to the utmoſt length the opinions of th
Anglican church, and the Father Courayer ſoftenin
as much as poſſible thoſe of the church of Rome.—
Pontopidan's Geſta Danorum extra Daniam: a curiou
collection of truths and fable to raiſe the glory of a na
tion, which required only the former.—*Hardouin
Commentary on the New Teſtament.* He pretends that th
Vulgate is the true original, of which the Greek text i
only the tranſlation.—*Machiavel a Republican.* Th
author makes uſe of the vulgar argument, viz. tha
Machiavel wrote his Prince to inſpire the Medici
with maxims that muſt render them univerſally od
ous; but this argument is deſtroyed by proving tha
treatiſe to have been written before their uſurpa
tion.—*Antiquities of the French Nation, by Mr. L
Gendre*: learned, but without criticiſm. The ſim
plicity of the good Le Gendre diſcovers the Scythian
to be the anceſtors of the French, from their polit
behaviour to the Amazons.—*Political Diſcourſes, b
Mr. Gordon; and a Parallel of the French with th
Romans, by the Abbé Mably.* Theſe two writers hav
gained a great reputation; the one by boldneſs and

nthuſiaſm, the other by his appearance of honeſty
nd calm reaſoning. Yet I have never been able to
iſcover in their works any thing but common-place.
have been in company with the latter, and can
nſwer for it, that his admiration of monarchy has
uch cooled in the ſpace of twenty years.

November 5.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii.*
ii. p. 820—870. He is here rather the critic and
tiquary than the geographer, which laſt character
comes him far the beſt. With an incredulity
yond that of Pouilly and Beaufort, he regards
e whole hiſtory of the firſt ages of Rome as fabu-
s. He dethrones the Roman, as well as the Alban
gs; and has no more belief in Romulus than in
eas; uſing learned arguments, weakly urged,
wn from the contradictory accounts of writers
ncerning the origin of Rome, the groſs ignorance
he firſt Romans, and the improbable circumſtan-
told of the birth and education of their founder.
ving overturned the received ſyſtem, he proceeds
explain his own. When the Aborigines left the
ntry of the Sabines to invade the *Siculi*, they
re in alliance with a Pelaſgic colony from Arcadia.
e *Siculi* were conquered; and the leader of the
lſgi took poſſeſſion of *Valencia*, one of their
ns on the banks of the Tiber, and gave it the
e of Rome. The Pelaſgi afterwards ſeparated;
mixing with the Aborigines, formed with them
nation called Latins. This event happened
n centuries before the Chriſtian era; and to this
ſgic chief, the true founder of Rome, ought to
ferred the few facts on the baſis of which ſo

many fables have been built concerning the suppo
perſonages—Saturn, Janus, Evander, Eneas, a
Romulus. This ſyſtem is new, and in ſome p
ſpecious; but it is ſo weak, that two reflections
ſufficient to overturn it. 1. Can it be imagined
the Romans, having loſt all memory of eight h
dred years of their hiſtory, and not being able t
higher than the eighth century before Chriſt, ſho
have been obliged to conceal their ignorance u
the abſurd fable which they gave out concer
their pretended founder? Many cities have inve
fictions for the purpoſe of magnifying their antiq
and nobility. But the fable fabricated by the Rom
abridges their hiſtory by the period of 760 years,
ſubſtitutes for their ancient Pelaſgic origin, a
tended deſcent from ſhepherds and robbers.
Romans knew, at leaſt they believed, the ſettle
of Evander on Mount Palatine; and if they
ignorant of the tranſactions of the intermediate
turies, would not this ſpace have been filled up
names, genealogies, and fables, ſuch as were i
poſed to form the chain between Eneas and R
lus? Theſe ſuppoſitions are neceſſary for Cluve
ſyſtem, but cannot be made without ſuppoſi
the firſt Romans a degree of groſs ignorance, in
ceivable in a nation inhabiting cities, and enjo
the uſe of letters. 2. But theſe ſuppoſition
granted, would militate againſt the ſyſtem w
they are meant to eſtabliſh. The ſame igno
which obliterated the hiſtory of the Romans,
alſo have deſtroyed that of the Pelaſgi, their re
anceſtors. How extraordinary is the privilege gr

the latter nation, whoſe ancient migrations are
ppoſed to be undoubted facts that admit not of
ſpute, and that ought to be employed for diſſipa-
g all the clouds that obſcure the hiſtory of their
re recent poſterity!

The hypotheſis of the learned geographer muſt
l to the ground; but the falſeneſs of that hypo-
ſis does not prove the Roman hiſtory to be true.
adily give up to hiſtorical ſcepticiſm, or rather to
ntempt and oblivion, the high exploits of Eneas,
Trojan colony, the kings of Alba, and the wolf
Romulus. But what degree of credit ought to be
en to the firſt decade of Livy? To diſcuſs fully
h a queſtion would require knowledge and leiſure.
ave neither of the two. Yet merely to break
w ground on a queſtion almoſt exhauſted, I
uld obſerve; 1. that it requires greater preciſion
ideas, than has hitherto been aimed at. Cluverius
uld allow that ſome truths may be diſcovered
idſt the heap of fables; and the Abbé Sallier
uld acknowledge that the Roman has ſhared the
e of all hiſtories, whoſe purity has been corrupted
ſome fictions. Before entering upon the con-
verſy, I ſhall give my own articles of faith; and
to expatiate in too wide a field, ſhall confine
ſelf to the tranſactions related in the abridgment
he firſt books of Livy. I would venture to main-
n that theſe tranſactions happened, without giving
ſome of the more probable circumſtances with
ich they are ſaid to have been accompanied. 2. The
ject of the external proof is exhauſted. Concern-
the great annals, the domeſtic memoirs, &c.

nothing can be added to the arguments of Meſſrs. Sa
lier and Freret on one ſide, and the objections of Meſſr
Pouilly and Beaufort on the other. I would chan
the mode of attack, and make uſe of the proofs whic
divines call internal. My argument would be, tha
the firſt Roman hiſtorians having lived in the days
Hannibal, the fables which, according to my adve
ſaries, they refuted, muſt have gained poſſeſſion
the public fifty years before that period. I wou
combine the nature of thoſe fables with the conditi
of the Romans, and examine whether it is like
that, under ſuch circumſtances, ſimilar fables ſhou
either have been invented or believed.

November 6.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq.* L. i
C. iii. p. 870—900. He treats of the maritime places
Latium. They were few in number; we meet howev
with the celebrated names of the river *Numicus*, *Oſti*
Laurentum, and *Lavinium*, often confounded wi
Lanuvium. I am ſurpriſed he ſhould omit to ſpe
of Pliny the younger's *Laurentina villa*, which is
well deſcribed by its maſter. He might eaſily ha
aſcertained its ſituation, and have very proper
inſerted thoſe paſſages of Pliny, which exhibit
lively a picture of the circumjacent country. I percei
that Virgil makes the Trojans ſail up the Tyber, a
places Æneas' firſt camp on the banks of the rive
whereas the greater part of writers, relying on the ſto
of the ſow, and ſome very vague expreſſions inde
of the poet himſelf, ſuppoſe that hero to have landed
the mouth of the *Numicus*, near to the place whe
he built ſhortly afterwards the city of *Lavinium*.

November 7.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq.* L.

C. iv. p. 900—950. The author continues to describe Latium; the inland country contained *Lanuvium*, Aricia, *Alba*, *Tusculum*, and *Gabii*; places famous during the first ages of Rome on account of their resistance to its arms; and afterwards, on account of the beautiful villas with which the great men of the republic, and the emperors, crowded the neighbourhood of the capital. Continually Greek fables; here is scarcely one of those cities which has not a supposed founder belonging to that nation. Of all those fables, often very ill-contrived by the Greeks, concerning western nations, especially Italy, there are some few that stand apart, but the greater number are connected with one or other of those three celebrated events; the return of Hercules from his Iberian expedition, the voyages of the Argonauts, and those of Ulysses.

I finished *the twenty-ninth volume of the Bibliothéque raisonnée.* It contains *De Traditione Principiorum Legis Naturalis by Ausaldus.* The primitive revelation, whether preserved by tradition, or by principles, which each individual may discover by the exercise of his own reason, will be attended with the same consequences; but the latter hypothesis is more simple, and more consonant to the attributes of the Creator.—*The Universal History, by a Society of Men of Letters: first and second Extract.* The excellence of the first part of this great work is well known. The reviewer shows clearly that the hail-stones which completed the defeat of the inhabitants of Canaan, was only a storm of ordinary hail, and refutes the credulity of those historians who think that it consisted of large stones, formed

and ſupported in the air till the moment of the fall.—*A methodical Catalogue of the Plants found Switzerland, by Albert Haller.* I am little intereſt in a work on botany, but very much in Mr. Hall This univerſal genius unites the fire of poetry wi the ſagacity and diſcernment of the philoſopher: natural abilities are equal to his acquired knowled His memory is retentive to a degree almoſt mira lous. A few years ago he ſupped with Mr. de whoſe memory is alſo ſurpriſing. The converſati turned on the affairs of Sweden, and the antiquit of Rome; and the ſcholar always corrected the trav ler. With all his admirers, Haller has but f friends. Wherever he has happened to reſide, Gottingen, Berne, or the Pays de Vaud, his har haughty, and ambitious character has offended his acquaintances.—*The Hiſtory of William the C queror, by the Abbé Prevôt.* I found in it ſome quo tions from an old chronicle, the natural ſimplicity which gave me great pleaſure.—*Hiſtory of Mo Veſuvius by the Academy of Naples*: very curi The heat of the lava, even after its firſt violence abated, is far greater than that of red-hot iron.

November 8.]—Being unwel, I did nothing read a ſmall work which Mr. Pavilliard had len me. It is entitled, *Letters written from the Coun* and relates to the troubles of Geneva; concern which I know nothing more than the public at la Theſe letters are written by a man of abilities, w affects too much however the ſtyle of Monteſqu He is an advocate for the magiſtrates, and conſid as a ſalutary check the previous approbation of

ttle council, before any bill can be propoſed to the eneral aſſembly. This regulation he compares with he King's negative in the conſtitution of England. ut there is a wide difference between a negative efore, and after deliberation.

November 11.] — I finiſhed *the thirtieth volume of he Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Cuper's Letters;* hich give as favorable an impreſſion of the heart as the underſtanding of this learned Dutchman. — *he Civil Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Naples, by r. Giannone.* The candor, penetration, and freedom, this excellent lawyer, will ever enſure to this work e eſteem of all wiſe men. Churchmen are not always the number. — *Poems, by the King of Navarre:* ghly valuable, on account of the rank of the author, eir antiquity, and their own real beauties. — *aylor's Diſſertation on the Law of the Decemvirs ainſt Inſolvent Debtors.* His concluſion is not new. e thinks the debtor was ſold as a ſlave, and the ice received for him divided amongſt his creditors, d not the ſlave himſelf. As this journal begins to ow too faſhionable, the reviewer does not venture inſert the Latin, which cannot however eaſily be penſed with in this diſcuſſion. — *Univerſal Hiſtory: rd Extract.* The reviewer collects a great number curious examples on the power of muſic. — *tural Hiſtory of Fiſhes, by Klein:* curious. — e *Count d'Eſtrade's Letters* lay open the ſprings the French policy, and all the ambition of uis XIV. — *A Treatiſe on the Number of Inhabitants Holland and Weſt Frieſland, by Mr. Kerſeboom.* As s curious work is in Dutch, I ſhall ſpeak of it at

ſome length. The reſult of his obſervations is; 1. The number of children born yearly amount to 28,000. 2. The total of the inhabitants to 980,000; that is, in the proportion of 35 to 1, of the births. 3. The number of married couples is 169,000. After ſubtracting the baſtards, it turns out that of thirteen married couples of all ages, two produce children yearly. 4. Mr. Kerſeboom finds by his calculations, that of two perſons that enter into wedlock between the ages of 20 and 50, it is 13 to 7 that one will die before the lapſe of twenty years. 5. Of 1400 new-born children, the probable nnmber of thoſe who will remain alive at each of the aſſigned ages, is as follows:

Age.	Alive.	Age.	Alive.
1	1125	60	382
10	895	70	245
20	817	80	100
30	711	90	10
40	605	95	1
50	507		

November 12.] — I read a ſmall new work, a poem in proſe, entitled, *Olivier*. The ſtyle is eaſy and flowing, but rarely elevated to a pitch deſerving the name of poetry. The ſtory is intereſting; we are pleaſed with the adventures of this Olivier, who ſubdues the Count's hatred by good offices. The characters of Enguerrand and his ſquire are amuſing. His adventure in the village of the Limouſin is a counterpart to that of Gil Blas with the archbiſhop of

of Grenada. The travels of Fleur d'Epine are throughout too extravagant. The isle of musicians is not a bad fancy; but the whole pleasantry its founded on a pun, the double meaning of the word *air*. The arrangement of the poem is detestable. I am provoked to find the narrative continually broken into cantos; and those parts of it resumed which had been almost forgotten. The author has imitated Arioſto. That is true; but Arioſto's arrangement is good for nothing. Besides, we ought not to confound the natural wanderings of a great genius unacquainted with rules, and the studied disorder of a writer who is extravagant by design, and who gives himself much trouble to violate those laws of composition with which he is acquainted.

November 14.] *I read Cluverius, L. iii. C. iv, v. p.* 950—979. The author treats of the other inland cities of Latium; *Tibur*, *Præneſte*, *Gabii*, &c. He thence proceeds to the *Rutuli*, who inhabited a small district between the sea, the Latins, and the Volsci. This little community must have separated itself from the political confederacy of the Latins, since it did not participate in the sacrifices on Mount Alba, which the members of that confederacy annually met to celebrate. The poets, however, often confound those two nations; which were indeed nearly united by the situation of their territories and their common origin. *Ardea*, the capital of the Rutuli, was taken and burnt by Eneas; the poets feign that a bird flew from its ashes; a strange fable, as shocking to the fancy as to reason. But the dogma of the metempsychosis was extremely metaphysical; and of that kind

of metaphyſics, of which the conſequences became the more refined in proportion to the abſurdity of the fictions on which they were founded. Our religion aſſures us of the ſoul's immortality, and even immateriality; but the doctrine of the reſurrection makes us conſider the body as an eſſential part of the man, and tends to perſuade us that without the aſſiſtance of organs, the ſoul would not be capable of action. The metempſychoſis, on the contrary, ſeparates the ſoul and body without depriving the former of any of its faculties. Theſe faculties it owes only to itſelf: man is ſtill a man; and in the body of another animal can think and reflect as well as in his own. When this opinion is adopted, though we may diſpute concerning the nature of this ſoul, we muſt allow that it has nothing in common with the body which it inhabits.

November 15.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. vi, vii, viii. p.* 979—1048. He caſts a glance on the little country of the *Hernici*, incloſed in the mountains; and deſcribes at length the extenſive territories of the *Volſci*, of which *Antium* was the capital. This nation had a marine, conſiſting of light veſſels, with which they infeſted the ſeas of Greece and Italy. Alexander ſent ambaſſadors, complaining to the Romans of their depredations; and the Romans endeavoured to repreſs their piracy. — Who was this Alexander? I think he was that king of Epirus, who made war in Italy, and whom the Greek colonies there choſe for their general and protector againſt the barbarians. This office naturally connected him with the Romans. When ſome writers

ſpeak of an embaſſy ſent by the ſenate to Alexander the Great, they confound the uncle with the nephew. The authority of the ancients, as well as the improbability of the thing itſelf, convince me that the Romans never had any communication with the conqueror of Aſia.

November 16.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. ix. p.* 1048—1062. He ſpeaks of that confuſion of the names of nations and tribes, which it is ſo difficult to unravel. The *Opici*, the *Oſci*; the *Auſones*, and *Aurunci*, are ſo continually confounded, that there muſt have been different names for the ſame people, or their territories muſt have been ſtrangely intermingled.

November 17.] — I read *Cluverius*, *L. iii. C. x. L. iv. C. i, ii. p.* 1062—1102. The author enters into particulars concerning the country of the *Auſones*, which became afterwards a part of New Latium. *Formiæ* was diſtinguiſhed by the infamous honor of being the capital of the *Leſtrigones*, at the time when Italy was to the Greeks what the inland parts of America are to us. Homer has rendered this fable intereſting. The diſcovery of an unknown country, where every object ſurpriſes and affects us, where curioſity is continually excited, and continually gratified, affords a pleaſure ſimilar to that felt in our travels. Yet the poet may be reproached with two incorrect touches, which ſomewhat diſfigure his picture. The *Leſtrigones* are either too refined, or too barbarous. They inhabit cities, they have chariots, and hired ſhepherds. Yet they are men-eaters. Happily for human nature, this ferocity never

exiſted but in nations totally devoid of culture; and even among them man does not devour his fellow-creatures unleſs driven to this madneſs by famine or vengeance. 2. The *Leſtrigones* were giants. Every thing belonging to them ought to be in due proportion; their children, houſes, and cities. Yet Ulyſſes' ſpies travel through the country, converſe with the king's daughter, and follow her without diſtruſt to her father's palace. Their fears are not mentioned, till they ſee the queen of the *Leſtrigones*. Gulliver was a better obſerver of proportions.

November 18.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ii. p.* 1102—1115. After having determined the ſituation and bounds of Campania, he deſcribes the ſea coaſt from *Sinueſſa*, viz. *Vulturnum*, *Liternum*, *Sylva Gallinara*, and *Cumæ*. This laſt place is deſcribed at great length. Its foundation and power, above all its Sibyl, immortalized by Virgil, furniſh the geographer with an abundant crop. This laſt article is well treated, without confuſion, but with his natural copiouſneſs.

20.] — I read *Cluverius*, *L. iv. C. ii. p.* 1115—1146. In purſuance of his deſign, he deſcribes the coaſt of Campania, from *Cumæ* to *Naples:* a ſmall diſtrict, famous in all ages. *Miſenum*, *Baiæ*, *Puteoli*, with the lakes *Avernus* and *Lucrinus*, the terror of the early Greeks, and the delight of the Romans, will always render this coaſt highly intereſting.

21.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iii. p.* 1146—1164. He continues and concludes his account of the coaſts of Campania and Naples, to the promontory of Minerva, which ſeperated them from

the territory of the *Picentini*. *Herculaneum*, *Pompeii*, *Stabiæ*, and *Surrentum*, are the principal places deſcribed in his rout.

There are different opinions concerning the place of Virgil's tomb. St. Jerom and Donatus appear on one ſide; but Cluverius, followed by Mr. Addiſon, on the other, rejects without ceremony their evidence; and, upon the authority of Statius, tranſports this monument to the other ſide of the city, and the foot of Mount Veſuvius. I ſhould with them prefer Statius's information, were it conveyed in preciſe terms. But this poet ſpeaks in general only of the Chalcidic ſhores, places which experienced the rage of Veſuvius; and ſuch vague language ſeems merely to indicate the neighbourhood of Naples. St. Jerom and Donatus, on the other hand, tell us, that Virgil was buried at the diſtance of two miles from that city, and on the high road to Puteoli; this account is ſo clear, that it cannot be miſtaken. It may be reconciled with that of Statius, and is juſtified by the tradition of the country. Why ſhould it be rejected?

November 22.] —I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iv. p.* 1164—1171. He treats of the iſles lying oppoſite to the coaſt of Campania. The two largeſt appear like advanced works, intended to guard the two promontories of the Bay of Naples. The one is called *Ænaria* or *Pithecuſa*; the other is the famous *Capreæ*.

24.] — I read *Cluverius*, *L. iv. C. v. p.* 1171—1179. After having treated of the coaſts and iſlands of Campania, he proceeds to the inland country. We behold the fertile fields of *Falernum* and *Capua*,

whose corn and wine formed the surest revenue of the republic, and nourished a vast multitude of citizens. The district of Falernum was bounded by the vineyards of Mount *Massicus*. The ancients often confounded these two growths. Capua appears next; that proud city, whose inhabitants foolishly thought that their riches would enable them to contend with Rome. The Romans destroyed the republic, but spared the city: and in never re-establishing its political constitution, an event which they always feared, they were guided rather by a concern for the safety of their own government, than by maxims of external policy. Cicero artfully confounds those two objects in his pleadings against Rullus; he had good reasons for so doing.

November 25.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. vi. vii. viii. p.* 1179—1205. The author describes the remainder of Campania, and the territories of the *Picentini*, *Hirpini*, and *Samnites*. These two nations inhabited mountains of little fertility, which were almost deserts, under the Romans, who had conquered the Samnites only by extirpating them. Florus is right. It is impossible to find in these districts objects worthy of twenty-four triumphs. Mr. Addison is again in my way. Why would he place in Umbria lake *Ampsanctus*, which Virgil had so well described? Was he ignorant of, or did he despise, the passages of Cicero and Pliny which place that lake in the country of the *Hirpini*? The Fury could not make a choice more worthy of her character, than that of plunging into a lake whose waters proved fatal to all who approached them.

I finiſhed *the thirty-firſt volume of the Bibliothèque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Lucian, by Meſſrs. Hemſterhuis and Geſner;* accompanied with every help that can render an edition valuable: manuſcripts collated, a new tranſlation, and remarks of many of the learned. In ſpeaking of the *Philopatris*, the editors prove that it muſt have been written under an emperor of Conſtantinople, who allowed the Chriſtians to be inſulted. This era, being applicable only to Julian, deſtroys all the conſequences which have been deduced from this work. — *Account of a Miſſion into Grœnland, by Mr. Egede, in Daniſh.* All here is curious: the deſign of the voyage, uncommon among Proteſtants; the country; and its inhabitants. Nature is clad in terror; the animals are ſmall and few. No other plants can thrive, excepting thoſe which ripen in a ſummer of two months, and can bear a winter of ten. Corn will not grow beyond the ſixty-fourth degree: beyond the ſixty-fifth ſpirits of wine freeze. There is not even ſnow; all is hard ice, whoſe ſparkling colors gladden this ſcene of horror. Yet; man is naturally good; I appeal to theſe Grœnlanders, who are no ſtrangers to love in the midſt of their frozen regions, but are ſtrangers to war excepting againſt the brute creation. They are lazy, inconſtant; exempt from ill-nature, but deſtitute of great virtues. The Iroquois, who eat their priſoners, have alſo laws, ideas, and arts; with which laſt the Grœnlanders are unacquainted. Compared with the Grœnlanders, the Iroquois are a civilized nation. How delightful is the contemplation of nature! — *Theology of Inſects, by Mr. Leſner:* very curious. —

Letters of Count d'Eſtrades: highly uſeful for the hiſtory of negociations, a kind of hiſtory almoſt unknown to antiquity.—*Fourmont's Chineſe Grammar.* A ſtriking proof of the ſuperiority of the Europeans. Chineſe grammars are written in Paris: will French grammars ever be written in Pekin? I am doubtful whether the Mandarins themſelves know the principles of their own language as well as Mr. Fourmont. — *A Treatiſe on the Senſes, by Mr. Le Cat.* The knowledge of the ſenſes approaches nearly to that of the ſoul, of which they are the organs. Mr. Le Cat explains their anatomy, functions, and objects, with penetration always guided by experience. His work has given me a pleaſure not to be deſcribed. — *The Univerſal Hiſtory, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract relates to the hiſtory of the Perſians, according to oriental writers; whom the editors boldly prefer to the Greek. Many learned men have entertained the ſame opinion, which appears to me indefenſible. 1. In the oriental writers, the characteriſtics of the fabulous are predominant; there is no attention to chronology; geographical errors abound; and the marvellous forms the eſſential part of the narrative, inſtead of being merely an acceſſory. 2. In the hiſtory of Perſia, there are many tranſactions concerning which the Greeks could not be miſtaken; as the time of the eſtabliſhment of Cyrus' empire, and the wars between the Perſians and themſelves. But the Perſian accounts differ as widely from the Greek, with reſpect to thoſe matters, as they do with reſpect to all others. 3. I know that the Greeks only ſhowed themſelves in Perſia, and

that their eaſtern ſubjects lived quietly under their tranſitory reign. But their ſucceſſors, the Parthians, a Scythian nation who hated the Perſians, whoſe effeminacy they deſpiſed, kept them during five centuries under a yoke of iron. A conflagration, or other tranſient calamity, rarely deſtroys the whole monuments of a country; but, under a cruel government, which renders each generation more ſtupid than the preceding, they crumble into duſt, and become a prey to worms; and truth is ſoon ſtifled under a weight of fabulous tradition. The hiſtory of the dynaſty of the Saſſanides is leſs liable to objection. It is better connected, more probable in itſelf, as well as more conformable to the narratives of European writers. Yet a conſiderable time elapſed from the Arabian conqueſt, before the Perſians endeavoured to collect their hiſtorical munuments.

November 27.] — I read Saurin's famous *pleading* againſt Rouſſeau. How ſingular a buſineſs is this! While wars and negociations are almoſt forgotten, this diſpute between two private individuals is ſtill remembered, and after the lapſe of ſixty years, ſtill foments party-paſſions. All I can decide is, that this performance of Saurin's is a fine exhibition of taſte and eloquence.

28.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii. p.* 1205—1242. He proceeds to the coaſt of the Adriatic, and ſpeaks ſhortly of the *Frentani.* He then treats of the country called Japygia by the Greeks, and Apulia by the Romans: giving its general diviſion and limits. In page 1210 the editor apprizes us, that Cluverius did not proceed farther

in revising his work; and that the remainder will appear less polished, less elaborate, and perhaps less accurate. Heinsius' delicacy in giving this information is commendable; but I have not yet discovered its necessity. All the towns of Apulia and Calabria here pass in review; *Arpi*, *Canusium*, *Luceria*, *Brundusium*, and last of all *Tarentum*, which is treated with a copiousness proportional to its importance.

Nov. 29] — I finished *the thirty-second volume of the Bibliothéque Raisonnée*. It contains *Philosophical Researches of St. Hyacinthe*: a small performance, by a man who has more talent for ridicule than for reasoning. — *Cumberland's Treatise on the Laws of Nature, translated and commented by Barbeyrac*. A learned refutation of Hobbes. This philosopher had degraded man to the condition of a beast; the bishop exalts him to that of an angel. Man, Cumberland tells us, is made for society; he is the only animal that laughs and weeps. Hobbes maintains that man is not made for society, because children and ideots, though participating of human nature, do not know what society means. — *Calvin's Letters to Jacques de Bourgogne*. Here we find you, harsh and intractable spirit! quarelling with a respectable friend, because he wishes to snatch a victim from your theological zeal. On the subject of these letters, the librarian of Geneva writes one to the reviewers, containing a curious investigation of the whole business. This librarian had already supplied them with several other pieces; which treat indeed merely of literary trifles, but these trifles are written agreeably and elegantly — *Conformities between Jesus Christ and St. Francis*

Assise. Bartholemy of Pisa discovered only 40, but this author carries the number to 4000, most of them trivial, or too subtile. The absurdity of this book gives it a kind of value. — *Philo, by Mangey.* Philo, in the first century, always quotes the Old Testament in Aquila's version, who lived in the second: a perplexing difficulty for critics. — *Missions to Tranquebar.* This is the counterpart of the Voyage into Grœnland; all is opposite in these voyages, excepting the design for which they were undertaken. The ancients went too far in their assertions: but if the frozen and torrid zones are inhabited, is it by men? I doubt whether these regions will ever be civilized like the temperate zones. The scarcity and weakness of animals, and the want of corn, wine, and iron, will always form natural obstacles of great importance. But I intend to read the book itself, and therefore leave the subject at present.

November 30.] — I read *Cluverius, L. iv. C. xiii, xiv. p.* 1242—1282. After finishing the subject of Calabria, he proceeds to Lucania, the only province which commanded a view of both seas. There were many Greek cities on the coast, and a numerous and fierce people inhabited the inland country. These dissensions were abolished by the Roman conquests. The few inhabitants who escaped the effects of their fury, lost all remembrance of their former condition. The geographer perhaps sees better than the historian, how dearly it cost the world to become Roman.

December 3.] — I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. L. iv. c. xvi, xvii. p.* 1320—1338; *which concludes the fourth*

book, and the whole work; a truly laborious task; undertaken by me with more ardor, than it was continued with perseverance. But intervals of relaxation were pardonable. His materials are immense; his method perplexed, and his style a motley mixture of quotations from authors of all ages. My undertaking is now accomplished; and I have derived from it much useful knowledge, which will not be easily forgotten. I have already remarked his prodigious mass of materials. In speaking of the meanest village, all the learning of antiquity and the middle ages occurs to his memory: and a passage is not more concealed from his keen eye in a legend of the tenth century, than if it stood at the head of the Eneid. Throughout, his authorities are produced, and sifted, and compared with each other; and the result of the comparison is not always to their honor. The ancients quoted often from memory. Books were scarce; maps still scarcer; and in a science where the mind is so liable to wander without the direction of the eye, error was unavoidable. Servius the commentator is often exposed to Cluverius' criticism. This pretended scholar is here stripped of his mask of counterfeit erudition. His absurd mistakes are only to be equalled by those of Appian the historian. But our author's censure spares not the greatest names of ancient geography; Ptolemy, who knew the east better than the west; Strabo, who is sometimes a historian, politician, or philosopher, rather than a geographer; and Pliny, who undertakes to describe the world in thirty-seven small books; whose brevity is often obscurity, and who frequently

ſees by other men's eyes, and thoſe not always to be depended upon. After ſo much experience of their inaccuracy, it could hardly be expected that Cluverius ſhould maintain the infallibility of the ancients. But we may perceive in his work the ſame ſuperſtitious veneration for the great names of antiquity, which prevailed among his contemporaries. When no other excuſe for them remains, he is ſure to throw the blame on tranſcribers. This principle, that the true text need only be reſtored, in order to reſtore its propriety, he applies with unwearied diligence. The great number of his corrections is only equalled by their boldneſs; the greater part are raſh or uſeleſs; but ſome of them are extremely happy. The change of *Atheſis* and *Uſens* into *Æſis* and *Auſens*, reſcued the text of Livy from an abſurdity almoſt inconceivable; ubſtituted two obſcure but fit names, inſtead of two r more illuſtrious, but totally miſplaced; and eſtored the Galli *Senones* to their proper habitation. his correction has been adopted by Livy's editors, nd admitted into the text.

December 5.] — I finiſhed *the thirty-third volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains the *Life of Richard of Cornwall, Emperor of Germany, by Mr. Gebauer, Profeſſor at Gottingen.* Had not this German been a ſubject of the king of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover, would he ever have diſturbed the aſhes of this obſcure prince, whoſe weak and ignorant reign was as pernicious to England as uſeleſs to Germany? Would he ever have preferred this prince to the wiſe king of Caſtile? — *Univerſal Hiſtory, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract treats of the

hiſtory of the Macedonians. It is executed with much erudition, taſte, and judgment. This Univerſal Hiſtory would be invaluable, were all its parts of equal merit. I remember with pleaſure that I formed the ſame opinion of this article when I read it at Bath in 1751. I was then fourteen years old. — *Diſſertation on the Medal of Smyrna, by Mr Boze*: replete with erudition and taſte; containing curious reſearches on the pre-eminence of the cities of Aſia. — *Reſearches on the Polypus, by Mr. Trembley* A new world throwing light on phyſics, but darkening meta-phyſics. — *Vegetius' Inſtitutions.* This writer on tactics has good general notions; but his particular account of the Roman diſcipline is deformed by confuſion and anachroniſms. — *Theological Faults.* Who do not know them? — *Conformity between the Pagan and Catholic Rites of Worſhip.* Meſſrs. Warburton and Middleton are divided on this queſtion. The latter thinks that the Chriſtians copied after the Pagans. The former thinks that both followed the natural impulſe of human ſentiment, always prone to ſuperſtition. Theſe two opinions are not materially different. The will muſt always be actuated by ſome motive. Theſe rites were familiar and ſuitable to the Romans of the fourth century. They had renounced them with reluctance; they reſumed them with pleaſure.

December 7.] — I returned to my geographical collection on Italy, which had been a ſhort time interrupted. I divide the country according to the regions of Auguſtus, introducing under each region the moſt intereſting particulars that occur in the courſe of my reading. This collection cannot

being much augmented by my travels in Italy; and, at my return to England, I hope to be able to give a deſcription of ancient Italy, which will be the joint reſult of my ſtudies, reflections, and obſervations. Such a work ſtill remains to be written; that of Cluverius by no means ſupplying its place. 1. Cluverius is too diffuſe. We live not in that age of induſtry, when ſtudies were valued in proportion to their extent and difficulty. Our men of letters are afraid to encounter two volumes in folio. Yet thoſe who have curioſity, cannot be contented with ſuch meagre abridgments as enrich neither the underſtanding nor memory. A book holding the middle place between Cluverius and Cellarius would ſuit the public taſte. 2. An abridgment of the former would not anſwer the purpoſe. In abridgments the proportions of the original muſt be preſerved; and thoſe of Cluverius are not always accurate. Without reproaching him with exceſſive diffuſion in ſome parts, and contraction even to torture in others, three objects are totally omitted, which ſurely merited his attention: the diviſion of the provinces by Auguſtus and his ſucceſſors; the great roads of Italy, and the topography of the city of Rome. Cluverius is ſcarcely ſenſible of theſe omiſſions. He was not indeed obliged to anticipate the diſcoveries of the preſent age; but it happens fortunately for a more modern writer, that it is in his power to avail himſelf of a more accurate knowledge of itinerary meaſures, and enrich his work with the firſt fruits of two new diſcoveries, the Tuſcan monuments and thoſe of *Herculaneum*. 3. Latin is no longer the language even

of learning, and Cluverius' Latin was never the language of taſte. The public would be pleaſed to ſee his broken chain of quotations melted down by a good writer into a clear, methodical, and intereſting narrative. Sometimes I would preſerve, however, the very words of my authorities, when they happened to be poets whoſe ſtyle often forms their principal merit, and whoſe ſmiling images would enliven the drineſs of geographical deſcriptions. 4. I would follow Strabo rather than Pliny. To my general diviſions and tables I would endeavour to give all the neatneſs and perſpicuity poſſible; while I examined with the eye of a philoſopher the interior of the country and the manners of its inabitants, the productions of art and nature, as far as they were known to the ancients; the migration of tribes, their laws and character. Amidſt ſo many intereſting objects, I would ſeize every opportunity of inveſtigating how far public tranſactions and manners were affected by local ſituation and climate. 5. Arrangements are arbitrary. The method which I ſhould follow, appears to me natural and luminous. I would place myſelf with Romulus on the Palatine Mount, and thus proceed to the different quarters of Rome, from the cradle of the nation to the firſt *pomœrium* of the city. In deſcribing Italy, I would follow the progreſs of Roman conqueſts, and pay particular attention to its diviſion by Auguſtus into regions, with this one exception, that I would ſeparate the territory of the Sabines from *Samnium*, and put it at the head of *Latium*. By this ſmall alteration I would reconcile the two principles of my arrangement; and

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the reader would eaſily follow the progreſs of the Roman arms, and Livy's hiſtory. A work of this kind, well executed, would be favorably received by the public. It might enrich a bookſeller, paſs through ten editions, and become a claſſical book with ſtudents in colleges, travellers, and even men of letters. The author, however, would do wrong to value himſelf on a performance, which owed its whole ſucceſs to the nature of the ſubject, induſtry, and method. To ſpeak only of my own eſſay, the production of my youth, written in two months, and forgotten in four, yet does it ſhow more originality of genius, than would be required for ſuch a geographical performance. Of the two ſources of literary fame, difficulty and utility, the ſecond is the ſureſt, though the leaſt flattering to vanity.

December 9.]—I read the *Bibliothéque Raiſonnée, volume thirty-four, part firſt.* It contains *three treatiſes of Mr. Harris, on the ſubjects of art, muſic and painting, and happineſs.* He is a great admirer of Plato and Ariſtotle, from whom he has learned to expreſs common-place thoughts in technical language; and an enthuſiaſm for the beautiful, the true, and the virtuous, which are often ſubſtituted with him for preciſion of ideas. Theſe faults chiefly prevail in the firſt and third of thoſe eſſays. The ſecond, containing many juſt obſervations and nice diſtinctions, is more conformable with the taſte of modern philoſophy.—*Natural Hiſtory of Bees, extracted from the Works of Mr. Réaumur:* written in the beſt taſte; the choice of the ſubject, the refinement, copiouſneſs, and ſingularity of the obſervations, the beauties of

ſtyle and arrangement, all contribute to raiſe the value of this little performance.

Dec. 11.]—I read *the thirty-fifth volume of the Biblio. théque Raiſonnée.* It contains *An Extract from the Uni. verſal Hiſtory, concerning the Life of Alexander.* A good compiler would not have expatiated on a life ſo well known. A few ſections would have ſufficed. Theſe compilers commit the ſame fault with regard to Crevier's Roman Hiſtory. This practice multiplies uſeleſs books, diſguſts their readers, and enriches none but bookſellers.—*Sermons on the Social Duties, by Doctor Delany.* This hiſtorian of David ſavours much of the enthuſiaſt; but he ſays excellent things. His diſcourſe againſt the common vice of not paying our debts, is a performance as excellent as it is new.—*Bibliothéque Françoiſe, by the Abbé Goujet; volumes ſeventh and eighth*: the continuation of a curious work.—*A Letter of the Librarian of Geneva, concerning John Fauſtus.* This excellent correſpondent of the Review clearly proves that the inventor of printing died at Paris of the plague.—*A Voyage to the North, by Mr. Outhier.* He was one of the companions of Mr. Maupertuis. This voyage, or journey, was ſurely uſeful to aſtronomy; but geography gained little by it.—*Diſſertation on David's Curſes.* The author attempts to prove that David might wiſh for the deſtruction of his enemies, and rejoice in their calamities, without offending againſt charity. The taſk is difficult, any man would fail in performing it; but a man of ſenſe it would not have been undertaken.

December 17.]—I employed myſelf very ill for ſome days, with the *Memoirs of Abbé Montgon,*

ight volumes large 12mo. ſmall letter, and very hick volumes. The decided patience of a German would be tired with eight large volumes which, with the greateſt facility, might be reduced to a undred pages. Whatever concerns the Abbé Montgon appears to himſelf to deſerve the attention f all Europe. Fifty pages are conſumed in a conerſation with the Archbiſhop of Amida; one hunred pages in an intrigue between the Ducheſs of St. ierre and Count Rottembourg; the other parts e in due proportion. The Abbé's enemies, I perive, accuſe him of two faults; a boundleſs amtion, and a ſuſpicious temper, which was always unting him with imaginary enemies. I am inclined think the accuſations juſt; and that Cardinal eury's cabal was as chimerical as that of Jurieu. hy ſhould the Cardinal have been the Abbé's emy? Montgon did not deſerve to be the object of vengeance, ſtill leſs of his hatred or jealouſy. t to hurt this man, the Cadinal during five years ploys concealed and almoſt inviſible inſtruments, d transforms into rogues or cowards the Archhop of Amida, Ducheſs of St. Pierre, the Marquis Brancas, and the Count of Rottembourg; who, cording to the Abbé, had all of them formerly been y honeſt people. His ambition appears very mani. A holy eccleſiaſtic does not think of quitting retreat, but with a view to become the attendant great king. This was an inclination which he ght to have diſtruſted. Before his departure, this nce remounts his throne. What had the good Abbé lo at his court? Yet he goes there, plunges into

worldly affairs, and the only ſigns of devotion that I can diſcover in the ſequel of his work, conſiſt in ſome paſſages of ſcripture, which he applies to his enemies. I acknowledge that our Abbé followed his natural vocation. He had a turn for buſineſs; and though too fond of minutiæ, was not deficient in addreſs, prudence, and perſuaſion. The two most intereſting parts of his work are, 1. The curious picture of Spain after the treaty of Vienna, which united in the cloſeſt amity two princes, who had diſputed a crown with the fierceſt animoſity. The court of Madrid was the dupe of that of Vienna. By means of a chimerical marriage ſhown in diſtant proſpect, Auſtria drew vaſt ſums from Spain, at the ſame time that ſhe gained real advantages for her commerce. The Auſtrian ambaſſador, Count Kœnigſeck, governed Spain with the authority of firſt miniſter. His weight was ſo great, that he cauſed the council of Caſtile to confirm the letters-patent which Charles VI. had granted to ſome Spaniards creating them Grandees, in reward of their ſervices in reſiſting the tyranny of the Duke of Anjou. 2. The commiſſion granted to the Abbé ſhows clearly, how little dependance is to be had on the renunciation made by the houſe of Anjou of its rights to the crown of France; and that theſe rights would be enforced on the firſt favorable opportunity. It is true that ſuch an opportunity is much leſs likely to occur now than it was then. The Abbé Montgon's ſtyle is inaccurate and unintereſting; that of a man unacquainted with the beauties and rules of his own language. What ſtrange words are *Deſpoticité*, *Stoï*

December 19.]—I read *Claudii Rutilii Numantiani Iter*, *L. i. V.* 1—644; and *L. ii. V.* 1—68. This is all that remains of a work that contained two complete books. I read it in *Burman's Edition of the Poetæ Latini Minores*, *Leiden*, 1731; one of thoſe Dutch editions, *cum notis Variorum*, in which the text only peeps out amidſt a heavy maſs of commentary. The 700 verſes of Rutilius are ſpread over 200 4to. pages, crowded with the remarks of Simler, Caſtalio, Pithæus, Sitzmanus, and Barthius. Yet Rutilius is not a difficult author; once or twice only I ſhould have been glad of an explanatory note; I looked for it in vain, but knew commentators too well to be ſurpriſed at the diſappointment. The author of this little poem lived under the Emperor Honorius, by whom he had been raiſed to the firſt employments. He was Conſul, Præfectus Prætorio, or Governor of Rome: being a Gaul by birth, he embarked at Oſtia the 9th October 416, A. U. C. 1169[**], to return to his native country. The account which he has left us of his voyage along the coaſts of Etruria and Liguria is imperfect, concluding at the town of Luna. His work may be conſidered in relation, 1. to its ſubject; 2. its ſtyle and poetry; 3. the perſonal character of its author. 1. If Rutilius had lopped off the firſt 180 verſes of his poem, the reader would not have been a loſer. After briefly mentioning the object of his voyage, and his ſorrow at leaving Rome, his adopted country, and the ſcene of his honors, he expatiates on the glory of the capital, that eternal city, to whoſe empire Jupiter had not aſſigned any limits, and which was deſtined to reign

over all nations, and during all ages. Such a subject required a truly poetical genius; and Rutilius is only a cold declaimer, who ſtrains his faculties to ſtring common-place thoughts, without finding in nature and himſelf colors fitted to adorn his theme. This theme indeed would not have been choſen by a judicious writer; for the reign of Honorius was not a proper period for deſcribing the greatneſs of Rome; a greatneſs long ſince fallen to decay. A veneration, and even terror, for her name, had been ſupported by her antiquity and extent of empire. But the illuſion was now over. The barbarians gradually knew, deſpiſed, and deſtroyed her. Great Britain ſeparated from the empire; the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi overflowed the fineſt provinces of Spain and Gaul; and when Rutilius wrote, Alaric had already been for ſix years maſter of Rome. I acknowledge that our poet, who was ſenſible of theſe calamities, endeavours ingeniouſly to diſſemble their diſgrace, comparing them with the defeats of Allia and Cannæ, to ſhow that Rome never ſuffered a reverſe of fortune without riſing more vigorous from the ſhock. But the compariſon is feeble and falſe. Since the Punic wars, circumſtances were totally changed. In the time of Rutilius, the ſprings of government were worn out; the national character, religion, laws, military diſcipline, even the ſeat of the empire, and the language itſelf, had been altered or deſtroyed, under the impreſſion of time and accident. It would have been difficult to revive the empire; but even could that have been effected, it would have been the empire of Conſtantinople or Ravenna, rather than

that of Rome. Rutilius might have felt how deſtitute his panegyric was of truth or probability, from the falſe and confuſed ideas excited by his perſonification of Rome. In the time of Virgil, this figure would have been natural. Rome, regarded as a goddeſs, and invoked in temples, had an exiſtence in the opinion of the multitude as well as in the fancy of poets. As the mother of the citizens, and the miſtreſs of the provinces, her name recalled the image of her empire: but when this empire conſiſted in an aſſemblage of nations, ſubject to the ſame prince, Rome was no longer its ſovereign; and this city, reduced to an idea merely phyſical, repreſented nothing more but walls, temples, and houſes, built on ſeven hills and on the banks of the Tyber. The remainder of Rutilius' voyage is ſtamped with a higher value. The objects which he deſcribes have not only more ſimplicity, but alſo more reality; and as they were obſerved with attention, they are painted with thoſe colors of truth and nature, which always diſtinguiſh the reſult of experience from the fruit of ſtudy and invention. By a diſtinct and eaſy road he conducts us along the coaſt of Etruria, which was become almoſt a deſert; he points out the ruins of cities, the beauties of the landſcape, and all thoſe places which were diſtinguiſhed either by art or nature. Our traveller forgets not the neighbouring iſles; and his curioſity leads him more than once into the interior of the country. The dryneſs of a didactic poem is occaſionally enlivened by digreſſions either immediately, or not too remotely connected with the ſubject "; ſuch as the character o

the Lepidi, the discovery of the use of iron, the Jewish religion, and the Christian monks. He is worthy of commendation for not giving to his narrative, serious as it is, too much of the marvellous; which never becomes a poem, where the author is his own hero. The marvellous is pleasing to our fancy, but is rejected by our reason. When we consider that conditional faith and imperfect delusion with which we are affected in works of fiction, it should seem as if there was a conflict of two hostile powers, by which the mind is kept in a state of suspense, that can only be maintained by distance and obscurity, and an air of mystery hanging over either the actor or the author. When the poet unites both characters in his own person, we are disposed to examine his narrative by the maxims of experience; and our voluntary delusion cannot, without the greatest difficulty, be supported.

2. Rutilius' voyage is read with pleasure; it is interesting and useful; but why was it written in verse? Poetry seems equally to misbecome the subject and the genius of the author. The narrative of a voyage comes very properly from a philosopher, a man of parts, or a fine writer, but has no connexion with verse. When we attempt to adorn with numbers a subject plain and simple, it is scarcely possible that our style should not be either unpoetical or improper. The subject requires ease, perspicuity, precision, and some ornaments introduced seasonably, and with a sparing hand. But the poet, in order to affect his reader with enthusiasm, must first feel it himself; he must aim at energy of expression and harmony of numbers; and be willing to sacrifice to them a

beauties of an inferior order. The language of poetry ſuits only thoſe ſtrong paſſions of the ſoul, by which it was originally produced; and he who attempts to employ this language on topics which leave the mind in tranquillity, will find himſelf between two rocks, on one of which he muſt ſhipwreck; the brilliancy of his expreſſion will either miſbecome the ſimplicity of his thoughts, or the tameneſs of his words and phraſes will diſgrace the dignity of verſe. All theſe reflections are applicable to Rutilius' voyage. His thoughts are ingenious, artfully arranged, and expreſſed with clearneſs, preciſion, and taſte. But his poetry is mean and creeping, deſtitute of ſtrength, and devoid of harmony. We ſee that he diſtruſts his natural vigor, and has recourſe to contrivances of art; contrivances weak and common, ſcarcely pardonable in great authors, and for which they ſeldom ſtand in need of pardon. 1. Rutilius ſeems to have thought that ſwelling words, which beſt filled the mouth, were alſo moſt pleaſing to the ear. But I wiſh ſuch words were reſigned to Oriental poets, of whom only they are not unworthy. I doubt whether *Bellerophonteis ſolicitudinibus* [85] be ever quoted, except on account of the ſingularity that two words ſhould compoſe a pentameter verſe. 2. He is bold even to licentiouſneſs in forming new words, or giving new combinations to the old. What can be more forced than uſing *connubium* for *concilium* [86]? I am pleaſed however with his epithet *legiferi*, applied to the Roman triumphs. Laws, order, and civility were produced by thoſe triumphs, and were their ordinary fruits. 3. I thought that I had diſcovered

ſome rhymes [17], but they are too few to enable us to determine whether they ought to be aſcribed to negligence, or were the effect of that bad taſte, which the corruption of language and connexion with the barbarians, who were fond of rhyme, gradually introduced among the Romans.

3. Authors deſcribe themſelves in their works: a maxim as true as it is ancient. We may add that the ſhades which appear in the picture, certainly were to be found in the original. The character of Rutilius appears to me to have been amiable. I perceive a love for his country, eſpecially in its adverſity; a heart ſuſceptible of friendſhip, and a tender and reſpectful regard for the memory of his father. Are ſo many good qualities to ſuffer a total eclipſe from a little too much vanity? Rutilius reviews the ſtages of his greatneſs with complacency; his country, his friends, and his father, are endeared to him by their connexion with his own honors. His vanity is contemptible. Cicero boaſted not of being conſul, but of ſaving the republic in his conſulſhip. Men may be more eaſily pardoned for being proud of their actions and talents, than for valuing themſelves on their employments and titles, the vain and frivolous diſtinctions of ſociety. Rutilius deteſted the Jews, and deſpiſed the monks. Was this in *him* a crime? I could wiſh indeed that his feelings had been expreſſed with more philoſophical moderation, and had reſted on a better principle. But he was a Pagan, who beheld his religion ſinking under the weight of years, and involving the empire in its fall. The Chriſtians inſulted the decline of his ſect, which

they endeavoured to haſten by perſecution. A little bad humor was excuſable. Nothing can be more animated than his deſcription of the monks in the iſle of *Capraria*, or more judicious than the reflections with which it is accompanied. The folly of theſe monks is extreme, in thinking that God took pleaſure in the ſufferings of his creatures: but their conduct was conformable with their principles. Had Rutilius lived in the twelfth century, what would he have ſaid of their ſucceſſors, who availed themſelves of their voluntary poverty and humility, to acquire the eſteem of the multitude, and of that eſteem to appropriate to themſelves temporal power, and half the riches of Europe?

December 20.]—I read the *Journal des Savans*, for the months of January, February, and March, 1763. I can hardly expreſs how much I am delighted with this Journal; its characteriſtics are erudition, preciſion, and taſte; but what I moſt admire is that impartiality and candor which diſtinguiſh the beauties and defects of a work, giving to the former due and hearty praiſe, and calmly and tenderly pointing out the latter. This Journal, the father of all the reſt, is ſtill their ſuperior: of late it muſt have acquired the help of ſome new laborers. I ſhould like to know the author of an excellent piece, an analyſis and criticiſm of the new tragedy of *Zelmire*. There is nothing to be wiſhed for in this Journal but a little more boldneſs and philoſophy; but it is publiſhed under the Chancellor's eye.

December 23.]—I read two detached pieces of Virgil, of great importance in geography. The firſt

is *the review of Turnus' army*, *L. V.* 641—817: the ſecond, *an account of the ſuccours which Eneas received from Etruria*, *L. x. V.* 163—214. My reflections on theſe paſſages will be found in *No. I.* of my new Collection of Obſervations.

Dec. 24.]—I read with the ſame deſign the review of the Roman army by *Silius Italicus*, before the battle of Cannæ; *Punic. L. vii. V.* 334—623. I read it over again, rather to engrave it on my memory, than to pleaſe my fancy. See *No. II.*

25.]—I read the *fifth Satire of the firſt book of Horace*, containing his journey to *Brunduſium*. Geography rather than poetry was my object. This ſatire gave occaſion to ſome reflexions on the journies of the ancients in general, which I have collected in *No. III.* and from which the reader will ſee with how little foundation Mr. Addiſon eſtimates the ordinary day's journey of a Roman nobleman at fourteen miles.

December 26.]—I read ſeveral *diſſertations in the twenty-ſixth Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles-Lettres*, relative to my preſent purſuit—*Memoirs of Mr. D'Anville on the Roman Mile*, *p.* 346—362. The reſult is drawn by this learned man from a number of particular miles meaſured on the Emilian way, and in the neighbourhood of Milan. He makes the Roman mile 756 fathoms long.—*Remarks on ſome Points of ancient Geography, by Mr. de la Nauze*, *p.* 326—397. He treats, 1. Of the diſtance between Rome and Aricia: it was certainly 16 Roman miles, or 128 ſtadia. Though Strabo makes it 160 ſtadia, this muſt be imputed either to his ignorance, or the fault of his tranſcribers, and by no means to his

reckoning by a particular ſtadium in the neighbourhood of Rome. 2. Pliny agrees with Strabo in making the diſtance from *Hydruntum* to the coaſt of Epirus 50 Roman miles. 3. There were two kinds of ſtadia; the ancient of ten, and the modern of eight, to a Roman mile. This diſtinction is a neceſſary one, but unfortunately it only ſubſtitutes uncertainty for difficulty. 4. Until the time of Auguſtus, the miles were reckoned from the gates of Rome; and the firſt mile-ſtone only denoted the commencement of a mile; but when that prince erected the gilt pillar in the Forum, the mile-ſtone at the gates denoted the end of a mile; but that mile depended on the diſtance of the Forum from the ſeveral gates, and contained two or three miles.

December 27.]—I read the *Abbé Barthelemy's Memoir on the ancient Monuments of Rome, in the twenty-ſixth volume, p.* 579—611, *of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.* It is replete with taſte, erudition, and good ſenſe; worthy of the amiable ſcholar, whom I well knew at Paris. I was preſent laſt year at the public meeting of the Academy, after the Eaſter-holidays. The Abbé was to read a diſcourſe on the Coptic. This was known beforehand; and every body blamed the choice of ſo thorny a ſubject, that was fitter to be diſcuſſed at the Academy's private meetings. But our pleaſure was heightened by ſurpriſe, when we perceived that the Abbé rendered his ſubject intereſting to his audience of people of faſhion and women, by the beauties of his ſtyle, the delicacy of his criticiſms, and his principles of reaſoning as perſpicuous as they were ſolid.

Dec. 30.]—There remained for me nothing to read concerning the ancient geography of Italy, except the books of Strabo on that ſubject. I read *L. iv. p.* 139—144, and *L. v. p.* 145—157, in Xylander's Latin tranſlation reviſed by Caſaubon. Strabo there treats of Venetia, Ciſalpine Gaul, the Alps, Liguria, Etruria, and Umbria.

December 31.]—I read *Strabo's Geography L. iv. p.* 157—173, *and L. vi. p.* 174—199; having ſkipped over that part which relates to Sicily. I have always been an admirer of Strabo's good ſenſe, and variety of knowledge. Antiquity has left us more brilliant performances than his; but I know of none more ſolid and more uſeful.

1764, January 1.]—In the month of January I began to read Ovid's Faſti, in the Dauphin-edition. Purpoſing to add the ſtudy of medals and antiquities to that of geography, I thought this didactic poem, containing the whole Roman mythology, would be a good introduction to thoſe purſuits. As a poem, this work by no means correſponds to the favorable opinion which I had conceived of it, from the commendations of ancient and modern critics; but this is not the place for conſidering it in that light. The edition is that of Criſpin, a Swiſs, in the ſervice of the Dauphin. Biſhop Huet had good reaſon to complain of negligence in ſelecting competent perſons for executing Mr. Montauſier's excellent deſign. This edition is handſome, well printed and carefully corrected. The bookſeller has done his part well; but this is far from being the caſe with the editor. His notes are below criticiſm. They are ſi

only for a ſchool-boy, who would often be bewilder-
ed by their abſurdity. To render them completely
ridiculous, they wanted only a copious apparatus of
morality, and even of theology, as a fit appendage
to the poem of a Pagan and a libertine. The author
has taken care to ſupply that defect. His explanation
might have been uſeful, had he ſubſtituted common
for uncommon words; and ſimple for poetical phraſes.
But Criſpin's interpretation is at once ſwollen and
proſaic; equally unfit for diſplaying Ovid's beauties,
and for making his meaning underſtood. It has
been juſtly remarked, that thoſe enormous indices,
which commonly make a fourth part of the Dauphin-
editions, ought to have been employed in pointing
out the delicacies and idioms of the language or
author, and not in enumerating how many times he
uſes *&* and *que* in their common ſignification. Mr.
Criſpin has prefixed an ancient calendar to the Faſti;
he confeſſes that it does not agree with Ovid's; he
had not time to reconcile them. Every thing diſguſts
us in this edition, even to the mode of reference;
which is to the page, and not to the book; which
prevents the poſſibility of verifying the quotations.

I read four volumes of the *Bibliothéque Raiſonnée*;
the *36th*, *37th*, *38th*, and *39th*. Not having *the 36th*
at hand, and retaining but a confuſed notion of its
contents, I ſhall only ſpeak of one article with which
I was highly pleaſed. This is a learned and curious
diſſertation concerning the pretended Martyrdom of the
Theban Legion. The author inſiſts with great force
on the improbability of the fact, and the ſilence of
contemporary writers. He inveſtigates the origin of

a fable, ſo uſeful to the church of St Maurice in the Valley, and traces it back to Eucher, Biſhop of Lyons, who lived a century and a half after Diocletian, and who firſt related it on the authority of a vague and obſcure report. It appears that ſome legionary ſoldiers with their officer had, about that time, ſuffered martyrdom in Syria. But Fame, in bringing this tranſaction to the Weſt, magnified them into a complete legion entirely compoſed of Chriſtians.

The 37th volume contains a *Letter concerning the food of the firſt men.* The queſtion is as idle as it is vague and obſcure. I do not ſee the neceſſity of making them leave off vegetables ſo ſoon. The earth muſt have been ſlowly peopled with men and animals; and for a long time muſt have ſupplied all living tribes with ſuch abundant nouriſhment as precluded the neceſſity of their devouring each other. At length, animals became formidable to man, who was in danger of ſtarving. But nothing ſhort of urgent danger could overcome his natural repugnance to the ſhedding of blood. Are five or ſix generations ſufficient for producing all theſe revolutions?—*Deſcription of the Eaſt, by Mr. Pocock*: learned and curious. The houſes of the firſt inhabitants of Egypt are ſtill to be ſeen in the Thebaid, in the hollows of rocks. Magnificence improved the works of neceſſity. The arts of the Egyptians bore no relation to thoſe of Greece. The latter, harmonized by proportions, were bold and liberal; the former enſlaved by caprice, were extravagant rather than original.—*Epiſtolary Correſpondence between Leibnitz and*

and John Bernoulli. It is a pleaſure to contemplate theſe two vigorous minds: the force and depth of the one; the variety, extent, and penetration of the other.—*The Hiſtory of New-France, by Father Charlevoix:* well written, curious, and unfaithful.—*Hiſtory of Lewis XI. by Mr. Duclos.* Lewis XI. is an unintereſting object; his age quite the reverſe. But Mr. Duclos has ſhown us only the prince, and neglected the hiſtory of his age. *Virgil's Georgicks, tranſlated into Engliſh by Martyn:* uſeful for its knowledge of the plants mentioned by Virgil.

The 38th volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée contains the *Harleian Miſcellany, vol. iii.* We meet with the *Proceſs of Nicholas Antony, burnt at Geneva in 1632,* not for inventing a new hereſy, but for preferring the Jewiſh religion to the Chriſtian. It forms the counterpart to the hiſtory of Servetus.—*Deſcription of Iceland, by Mr. Anderſon.* The country and the manners of its inhabitants are equally ſtrange: Death only can make them quit this wretched iſland.—*The Neceſſity of Public Worſhip, by Mr. de la Chapelle, in anſwer to an anonymous Letter.* Mr. Chapelle's adverſary is a miniſter in the Pays de Vaud, of the name of Allamand, and never did I know a man of a finer genius. His mind embraced all kinds of learning, but philoſophy was his principal ſtudy. On all queſtions, he had contrived ſyſtems, at leaſt arguments, equally new and ingenious. His ideas were refined and perſpicuous; his expreſſion natural and happy. He was juſtly reproached with too much ſubtlety of thought, with pride, ambition, and exceſſive warmth of temper. This man, qualified

to enlighten or disturb a nation, lived and died in obscurity. He left nothing in writing, excepting a few short performances in answer to questions put to him. — *Travels into Egypt, by Mr. Granger:* bold, but superficial. The canals of the ancient kings carried the waters of the Nile and fertility into all the provinces of Egypt. These canals are not kept in repair by the Turks. The country has lost its fruitfulness; and Mr. Granger gives the lie to all ancient writers, who declare that it formerly was fruitful. — A *Poem* of *Peter Ebato*, on the *Troubles of Sicily in the Reign of the Emperor Henry VI. published from the library of Bern by Mr. Engel.* The work is curious: poetry is the history of barbarous ages; and has then all the circumstantial minuteness which history requires. — "*Letters of a Frenchman*," true; "*on the English*," false Poor Abbé le Blanc!

The 39th volume of the Bibliothéque Raisonnée contains *a letter of the librarian of Geneva, on a singular bull of Clement VI.* Singular indeed! This bull is a permission, granted in 1354, to all the confessors of all the kings of France, to grant dispensations to their sovereigns from the obligation of oaths which it might be inconvenient for them to observe. The librarian's reflections and researches throw much light on the authenticity, the character, the object, and the style of this bull. This letter is written with moderation and taste. — *Amintor and Theodora, by Mr. Mallet.* If my friend should ever attain poetic fame, it will be acquired by this work. Mr. Mat furnished the extract, which pleased Mallet so muc that he requested his friendship. This anecdote

learned from both parties. — *Travels into Weſtern Gothland, by Mr. Linnæus; and into Siberia, by Mr. Gmelin.* Theſe two works, the latter eſpecially, which opens to us an unknown world, do much honor to the ſovereigns of the North. — *The Works of Virgil, with the Commentaries of Heinſius and Peter Burman.* As this is the lateſt, ſo it is the beſt edition of Virgil and Servius. — *Haller's Poems, tranſlated from the German:* diſtinguiſhed by a rich imagination, energy of ſtyle, and an air of philoſophy, which he has thought fit to lay aſide. — *Theory of agreeable Sentiments, by Mr. de Pouilly.* Unity and variety are the ſources of our pleaſures. The idea ſeems to be juſt; but it has not enough either of novelty or preciſion to deſerve being expanded into a book. I read alſo *Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters*, juſt publiſhed. They contain an account of a journey in which ſhe accompanied her huſband in his embaſſy to Conſtantinople; and are lively and entertaining. I am moſt pleaſed with what ſhe ſays concerning thoſe inner apartments into which men are not allowed to penetrate. She maintains that the Turkiſh women enjoy a great deal of liberty, and walk out alone veiled, as oftenas they pleaſe, on pretence of going to the bathor the moſque. The Turks marry only one wife: and though ſome uſe the permiſſion of concubinagewith ſlaves, they are regarded as libertines, and forſaken by their wives. She ſtudied the Turkiſh language; and ſpeaks in high terms of the Turkiſh muſic and poetry. The manners, cuſtoms, and genius of the Greeks ſeem

to her to have undergone little change ſince the days of Homer.

February 1.] — I read *Ovid's Faſti*, *L. iv. p.* 599—610. The feſtival of Palilia is an object of much attention; it is different from that of the foundation of Rome, though both happened on the ſame day, the 21ſt of April. To what extravagancies is not the human mind liable? Purify a nation! and that too with the blood of a horſe, the huſk of a bean, and the aſhes of the bowels of a calf killed in the belly of its mother, and burnt on the altar of Veſta. Ovid clearly juſtifies the founder of Rome from the guilt of killing his brother. Remus was put to death in conſequence of a wiſe law made by his brother, and which this prince unintentionally violated. If Romulus did not ſhow grief for his death, this was to maintain the inviolable ſanctity of his laws, a thing neceſſary in his infant kingdom.

February 2.] — I read *Ovid's Faſti*, *L. v. p.* 610—620. His account of the different etymologies of the month of May is curious, and well expreſſed. We may diſtinguiſh in it an Oriental allegory, a Greek fable, and a Roman tradition. The iſſuing of the gods from chaos, and the *Majeſty* of Olympus arranging the celeſtial hierarchy, is ſublimely extravagant. The picture of the Muſes is well delineated; but Ovid ſhould have remembered that theſe infallible divinities were always of one mind.

9.] — I read *Ovid's Faſti*, *L. v. p.* 620 — 630. He explains the origin of the Floral games in a manner leſs diſhonorable for his religion. It is not credible that any people ſhould have erected altars to a harlot

It was enough for them to celebrate the feſtival of a goddeſs, in whom they already believed, by the dances of naked girls. All the ceremonies of this goddeſs ſavoured of debauchery; but the ſeaſon productive of flowers too naturally inſpires thoſe with licentious ſentiments who have never heard of the courteſan Flora. Why have recourſe to fable for what may be found in nature?

I read *Ovid's Faſti*, *L. v. p.* 630 — 643. The poet's genius ennobles every object; even nine black beans thrown behind the back, to which he gives an air of ſolemnity, and even of ſublimity. He chiefly employs that doubtful and faint coloring which renders objects more terrible, by ſhowing them partially and confuſedly; ſilence, obſcurity, the ſhadow which follows us with light ſteps, and which we dare not look behind us to ſee; all theſe touches belong to that kind of ſublimity which is well pointed out by Mr. Burke". The temple of Jupiter the avenger muſt have been magnificent. The worſhip of the Pagans had at leaſt more conſiſtency than that of the Catholics. Mars the avenger puniſhes the murderers of a great warrior, his deſcendant. This is more natural than the interference of an apoſtle or hermit in wars and victories; and wars often undertaken merely for worldly intereſts.

February 6.] — I went to the library to conſult the article *Flora* in Bayle's Dictionary. Lactantius too well imitates the fathers of his age. The Floral games, founded A. U. C. 514, firſt celebrated occaſionally, afterwards rendered annual in 580, by an order of the ſenate, and their expenſe defrayed by

money levied in fines; all this has not any reſemblance to the teſtamentary arrangement of a courteſan.

February 7.] — I read *Ovid's Faſti*, *L. vi. p.* 648—687, the concluſion of the book, and of all that part of the work which has come down to us. The ſix other books, which completed the Roman calendar, have periſhed. The beginning of the ſixth book is beautiful. The diſpute of the three goddeſſes is more pleaſing, becauſe borrowed from that of Paris and Mount Ida. Juno's ſpeech is alſo caſt in the ſame mould with that in the firſt book of the Eneid; but the amiable Hebe expreſſes herſelf with thoſe graces that are peculiar to Ovid.

8.] — I read *a little pamphlet of thirty-eight pages, by John James Rouſſeau.* It contains an abſtract of Plato's arguments againſt imitative poetry, eſpecially the drama. I was aſtoniſhed at the weakneſs and falſeneſs of the whole firſt part, which treats of the imperfection of imitation. Towards the concluſion, his reaſonings are more ſpecious. I acknowledge that the theatre, and eſpecially that of Athens, ſometimes paints its heroes too weak and too much alive to their misfortunes. But ſome indulgence muſt be granted to humanity, which groans in ſecret, or pours its grief into the boſom of a friend. The ſpectators are indeed confidents of the poet, but not of his characters.

February 9.] — While I waited for the ſequel of the *Bibliothéque Raiſonnée*, I read an excellent work on *the Method and Choice of our Studies, by the Abbé Fleury; Paris* 1753, in 12*mo. pp.* 364. The whole breathes a ſpirit of truth and virtue, together with

that clearneſs and ſtrength of reaſon, and that ſuperior good ſenſe, which is more uncommon than wit, and almoſt as rare as genius. The author was a Roman Catholic and a prieſt; but this fault is perceived by thoſe only who are neither the one nor the other. He begins by the hiſtory of education in different countries, of which he gives us a beautiful picture. That of the Greeks alone was philoſophical and national. The want of an accurate education among the Romans was ſupplied by virtue and natural good ſenſe. The ſtudies of the barbarians of the North were as barbarous as themſelves. To ages of ignorance ſucceeded thoſe of the pretended philoſophy of Ariſtotle, the Arabs and ſcholaſtics. The humaniſts of the fifteenth century revived the knowledge of the ancients. From all theſe united, is compoſed that chaos of learning taught in our univerſities and colleges, alike deſtitute of ſyſtem, order, and utility. The Abbé Fleury, who wiſhes to bring down ſcience from the heavens to the earth, propoſes a plan equally ſhort and reaſonable, the care of the body and the mind, with the knowledge of economy and laws. A Frenchman juſtly reckons hiſtory and politics among thoſe ſtudies which are rather curious than uſeful. The citizen of a free country regards them as indiſpenſable. To this treatiſe the Abbé Fleury has added *a Diſcourſe on Plato*. He deſpiſes both his phyſics and metaphyſics; but ſets the higheſt value on his logic, morals, ſtyle, and method.

February 10.]—I read over with care the ſix books of *Ovid's Faſti*; and have written the reflections,

which occurred to me in the perusal, in my Collection of observations, *No. IV.*

11.] — I began to read *Mr. Addison's* charming little *Treatise on ancient Medals, in the third volume of his Works, London*, 1746. I read p. 1 — 113. He considers the different advantages that may be derived from the study of medals; and dwells on the striking connexion between their reverses and the descriptions of Latin poets. In this view, he examines two series of medals; the one containing allegorical personages, and the other enigmatic symbols. Each class furnishes him with twenty examples. The passages of the poets are selected with taste; and the author's reflections are replete with judgment and sagacity. No man ever benefited more than Mr. Addison by the study of the Belles-Lettres. His works have much contributed to improve the English language and literature.

12.] — I finished *Addison's* work, *Dialogues upon the usefulness of ancient Medals; p.* 113 — 167: besides which, the plates take up sixty-eight pages. The third series of examples contains the representation of countries on medals: it is curious. Mr. Addison has a third dialogue, in which the parallel is drawn between ancient and modern medals; rather flattering for the ancients. In the first dialogue, the author sets out well; his characters are well marked; and the whole has the air of a free conversation among polite and learned friends: but the two following dialogues might as well have been called letters or essays. Pope's epistle is worthy of himself; but the inscription on his imaginary medal of Craggs, filling

ſix verſes, would not have been reliſhed by Addiſon". It is a bad compliment to a didactic work, to violate, in commending it, the moſt important precept which it contains.

I began *Spanheim's noble work de Præſtantia & Uſu Numiſmatum, in two volumes, 4to Amſterdam.* This is not the beſt edition; but I make uſe of it till I receive that of London, 1708, from Geneva. I read the *Preface and Diſſertation I. p.* 1—49, on the beauty and entertainment of medallic knowledge: and *Diſſertation II. p.* 49—68, on the aſſiſtance which it may afford to grammarians in aſcertaining the letters and orthography of ancient languages. I finiſhed ſome reflections on *Ovid's Faſti.* See my Collection of Obſervations, *No. IV.*

February 13.]—I wrote ſome remarks concerning the allegorical perſonages on medals. See my Collection, *No. V.*

I read *Spanheim, de Uſu & Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. II. p.* 68—93. It contains the ſequel of his grammatical obſervations. They are curious, but rather dry. Spanheim forgets his politeneſs in refuting Triſtan. The latter's miſtake indeed was a moſt abſurd one.

I finiſhed *the fortieth volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Dr. Middleton's Treatiſe on the Roman Senate.* The queſtion concerning the mode of entering into the Roman ſenate appears to be capable of an eaſy anſwer. The nomination belonged ſucceſſively to the kings, conſuls, and cenſors. But as they always named the queſtors, their right of naming gradually became of leſs value as the

queſtors became more numerous, and was reduce
to a mere formality, when their number becam
ſufficient to ſupply that of the ſenate.—*Hiſtory*
Sweden, *by Mr. Dalin*, *in Swediſh*. This is a ne
country. Two thouſand years ago the mountai
of Sweden, as well as thoſe of Denmark, ſtood i
an archipelago of little iſlands interſected by cana
and ſtraits. The ſea retired, and ſtill continues
retire, the ſpace of fifty inches, each century. It
thought alſo that the ocean, which covered a
greater ſurface towards the beginning of the Roma
empire, opened a communication with the Caſpi
Sea. This circumſtance, and a climate milder th
the preſent, facilitated the emigrations of the Sc
thians. Their moſt celebrated colony travelled
the North in the year of J. C. 100, under the condu
of Odin, a Scythian from the banks of the Tan
This legiſlator of the North reſided at Upſal, the ſe
of his religion and empire. His ſucceſſors, both kin
and prieſts, were maſters of a fine country, a
reſpected by the other kings of the nation. Th
reigned at Upſal till A. C. 870. Their family w
not extinct in Norway till 1060.

February 15.]—I read *Spanheim*, *de Præſtanti*
Uſu Numiſmatum, *Diſſert. II. p.* 93—112: and fou
it a tireſome declamation on the morality and poli
to be learned from medals; in which the author
contrived to introduce all the technical medal
terms. Why does he juſtify the ſenate for remov
the only check that remained on the tyranny of
emperors? They praiſed them, he ſays, to ſhow
them the road of virtue and glory. This excuſe

ood in the first year of Domitian's reign; but was ood for nothing in the fifteenth. Besides, what ew praise was kept in reserve for Trajan?

16.]—I read *Spanheim, de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p.* 112—122. He describes the advantages which natural history may derive from medals. I saw with pleasure the proof of what I said in my Essay on the subjects of the Circus and Amphitheatre.

I finished *the forty-first volume of the Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Anson's Voyage, first and second Extract.* I know few books that are more amusing; but the hero is painted in too flattering colors. When afterwards raised to the first employments of state, he was unable to support the weight of his renown. One praise indeed belongs to him, that of chusing and employing merit. Brett, Saunders, Rodney, and Keppel are among those whom he brought forward and educated.—*Mr. le Moine's Treatise on Miracles.* Such a work tends to injure the cause of religion which it endeavours to support. How ill qualified are we to ascertain the powers of nature, and of angels! Do we know exactly the extent of those belonging to our fellow-creatures?—*Morals.* The enemies of Revelation can no longer be accused of hostility to natural religion. Poor Toussaint is now the editor of the Brussels-Gazette. Strange employment for a philosopher!—*Penelope's Web, or Machiavel Physician, by Mr. de la Metrie:* a severe, ingenious, and learned satire against the faculty in Paris, particularly Astruc, Sylva, Chirac, and Winslow.

February 17.]—This morning was lost, except

that I found time to read *Spanheim, de Præstanti Numismatum, Dissert. III. p.* 166—196. He continues the same subject; panthers, serpents, dolphins. The part respecting serpents, those ministers of oracles and tutelary genii, is particularly curious.

February 18.]—In the evening I read a tale in verse which was lent to me, just published by Voltaire *What most pleases women?* Command. The design is borrowed from Pope's Wife of Bath. The narrative is rather diffuse, and the verses have not the natural ease and briskness which is an essential requisite. I borrowed at the same time *the Panegyric of the Duke of Sully, by Mr. Thomas*; a performance which gained the prize proposed by the French Academy.

19.]—Instead of continuing Spanheim, I resumed my *Geographical Collection on Italy*, which I wish to put out of hand. I wrote two pages and a half of it on Etruria.

I finished *Sully's Panegyric*. Mr. Thomas is a great orator. What strength of thought, what rapidity of style! He has the soul of a citizen, the sense of a philosopher, and the pencil of a great painter. His manner is that of Demosthenes, but of Demosthenes who has sacrificed to the graces. United with the pomp of eloquence, we find an accurate detail of particulars which are never minute when they are well chosen and well expressed; and that historical truth which always embellishes the panegyric of every man entitled to public praise. The parallel of Sully with Colbert is not drawn with flattery, scarcely with equity, towards the former. Mr. Thomas dwells

oo long on the compariſon of the difficulties which eſe two miniſters had reſpectively to encounter. he horrors of the league, forty years of civil war, nthuſiaſm and independence in the public mind, and ght hundred millions of debt; theſe were difficul- s incomparably greater than the caprices of the ronde, ſome extortions on the part of Cardinal lazarine, a nation deſtitute of either principles or aders of rebellion, and long weary of domeſtic ſturbances. Mr. Thomas does not always remem- r that a panegyric ought to hold the middle place tween a hiſtory and funeral oration. Perhaps the rength and ſublimity of his ſtyle, replete with ages as bold as they are natural, might have enabled m to diſpenſe with compariſons, apoſtrophes, and thoſe figures, which more properly belong to etry. I am certain he would have done well to it his compariſon of Sully's operations with thoſe eternal wiſdom; a ſpecies of falſe ſublime which only tend to degrade both the compared objects.

February 20.]—I wrote a page and a half of my *ographical Collection* on the Tiber and the rivers ich flow into it.

I finiſhed *the forty-ſecond volume of the Bibliothéque iſonnée*. If we conſider only *Mr. Ellis's Vogage to dſon's Bay*, the exiſtence of a north-weſt paſſage will ear very doubtful. Be that as it may, the Company l always endeavour to prevent its dicovery.—*An ay, by Mr. Deſlandes, on the Marine of the Ancients.* The ients never made uſe of any but trireme gallies that veſſels with three tire of oars of different lengths. e quadriremes, &c. had decks above theſe barns of s, provided with machines of war; but they had

only three tire of oars.—*Maclaurin's Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Diſcoveries.* A work admired by all mathematicians. I hope to be able at ſome future time to beſtow on it enlightened approbation.—*Narrative of a Voyage to Peru, by Mr. Boucher.* The Cordilleras form the higheſt chain of mountains in the world. The top of Chimboraco is 3217 fathom above the ſea: at the height of 2400 the ſnow never melts. The province of Quito, though a valley in the Cordilleras, is the higheſt inhabited country known. Subſiſting monuments ſtill atteſt the former greatneſs of the Incas. We yet behold the veſtiges of the cauſeway extending 400 leagues from Cuſco to Quito.—*The Harleian Miſcellany, Vol. vi.* contains the ſequel of a work diſtinguiſhed by the ſpirit of ſound philoſophy. From the axiom that the Eternal Being is all ſufficient in himſelf, a religion is deduced free from ſuperſtition, contradictions, and eternal puniſhments.—*Travels in Turkey and Perſia, by M. Otter:* curious, but dry.—*The happy Life, by Mr. de la Metrie:* the work of a fool, whoſe laughter is poiſonous.—*Remarks on Bayle's Dictionary.* Intolerant ſuperſtition is more dangerous than impiety.

February 24.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, on the ſubject of Umbria. I begin to put the materials in order, belonging to each region of Italy, which will be of much uſe to me. I finiſhed *the forty-third volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Leibnizii Protogea*: a poſthumous work of this great man, on the original ſtructure of the earth. Chaos firſt reigned; a conflagration melted the maſs; and different ſubſtances acquired their

ferent degrees of hardneſs from fluid water to vitrified gems, in proportion to the time they were in cooling. *The Hiſtory of the Office of Stadtholder, and of the Parliament of England, by the Abbé Raynal.* The pictures which he draws are filled with pretty antitheſes.—*The Hiſtory of Jovian, and the Tranſlation of ſome Works of Julian, by the Abbé de la Bleterie:* admirable, in point of erudition, taſte, elegance, and I will add, moderation. Julian was a Pagan, but the Abbé hates only the Jeſuits.—*The Spirit of Laws.* What occaſion was there to ſpeak of it here?—*Lord Bolingbroke's Patriot King.* This lord had ſtrength and elevation of mind; but he was a ſorry philoſopher.—*Middleton's Free Inquiry into the Miracles, &c.* This man was endowed with penetration and accuracy. He saw where his principles led; but he did not think proper to draw the conſequences.

February 26.]—I wrote three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the ſubject of *Samnium.* I have now finiſhed *the country of the Sabines*, and a part *of the territories of the Marſi.*

27.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter *Samnium* in my *Geographical Collection*, deſcribing the lake *Fucinus*, and the countries of the *Equi* and *Peligni.* I alſo read *Spanheim, de Uſu & Præſtantia Numiſmatum, Diſſert. III p.* 169—245. He treats of fabulous animals, the ſphinx, hydra, ſirenes, the birds of Stymphalus, the phœnix, &c. We may perceive that the genius of the Greeks, romantic as it was, employed itſelf rather in embelliſhment than invention. The ſphinx was originally an Ethiopian ape, whom the inhabitants of Thebais choſe for the

ſymbol of myſtery, and placed at the gates of their temples.

28.]—I read in *Spanheim* only *Diſſert. III.* p. 245—253. He treats of monſters and hieroglyphics whoſe names are unknown.

I finiſhed *the forty-fourth volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Bower's Lives of the Popes, firſt and ſecond Extract.* The beginnings of Chriſtian Rome are at leaſt as obſcure and fabulous as thoſe of the Pagan. The author is reproached with making a partial and ill-digeſted compilation of papal biography. He is a rogue unmaſked, who enjoyed, for twenty years, the favor of the public, becauſe he had quitted a ſect to which he ſtill ſecretly adhered, and becauſe he had been a counſellor of the inquiſition in the town of Macerata, where an inquiſition never exiſted.—*The free Voice of a Citizen.* When a king of Poland writes on the conſtitution of his country, we ſhould not expect to find the trite topics of a rhetorician, or the ſpeculative dreams of a pedant.—*A Treatiſe on Syſtems, by the Abbé Condillac* judicious, and abounding with fine thoughts; but the Abbé ſometimes confounds theory and truths flowing from a few general principles, with thoſe practical arts which require talents and experience and which from their nature are liable to great uncertainty.—*The Toleration of the Aſiatics:* truths common and important, expreſſed with much boldneſs.—*The Art of hatching Eggs, &c. by Mr Réaumur.* The proposed is ſure and eaſy. This author will make me in love with natural hiſtory. How extraordinary an inſtinct is that of the chicken, which employs itſelf half

half a day in the difficult work of its own birth! —*Eſſay on Moral Philoſophy, by Mr. Maupertuis.* No; you are not able to make me hate life.

The Eloge of Mr. Schultens. This learned man preferred the Jews too much to the Arabians.

March 1.] — I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. IV.* p. 253—265. From animals, he proceeds to plants, and particularly the lotus, with which the Egyptian medals often crown their kings, gods, and ſacred animals.

2.] — I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. IV. p.* 265—310. He ſtill treats of the plants repreſented on medals.

I finiſhed *the forty-fifth volume of the Biblio-thèque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Edmond's Negotiations,* publiſhed by *Dr. Birch:* curious, in as far as it re-lates to the character, laſt years, and death of Queen Elizabeth.—*Memoirs of Brandenburgh.* They are well written; but the memoirs of the author himſelf — how impatiently do I expect them! — *Treatiſe on Ice, by Mr. Mairan:* judicious and profound. I perceived, as well as the journal-writer, that cauſes ought not to be multiplied without neceſſity; and that fire ſet in motion is ſufficient without the ſubtile matter. — *Natural Hiſtory, by Mr. Buffon:* a great painter, and an original genius. The reviewer endeavours to defend the deluge; but confeſſes that ſhells are found in the mountains only at the elevation of ſix hundred feet.—*A Collection of Pieces of Eloquence of the French Academy:* vox & præterea nihil. *The Hiſtory of Sweden, by Mr. Dalin, in Swediſh, Vol ii.* Super-ſtition and clerical power reached the higheſt pitch

in Sweden. At the time of their converſion, the Swedes adopted the whole papal ſyſtem, and became Chriſtians after the faſhion of the twelfth century. They could not plead the authority of any ancient traditions; their hiſtory furniſhed them not with any argument againſt the Roman faith, and their ignorance hindered them from ſeeking ſuch arguments in the hiſtory of other nations, in reaſon, or in ſcripture. — *Parallel of the Arundelian Marbles with the Egyptian Chronicles.* I perceive that the author, the Abbé Richer du Boucher, has a great contempt for theſe marbles; and that he is deep in Manethon. All his diſcoveries are connected with a general ſyſtem of chronology, which he does not explain. I do not expect much from it.

March 3.]—I read *Spanheim Diſſert. IV. p.* 310—340; and *Diſſert. V. p.* 340—344. He concludes the article of plants; I am glad of it; they are but little connected with medals: Spanheim was not a botaniſt, nor do I wiſh to become one. I have now finiſhed the moſt intereſting part of his work. The ſecond diſſertation is dry, but uſeful: his declamations on morals and politics might be reduced to ten pages; and from the two laſt diſſertations I would ſelect only a few facts, cleared from all circumſtances foreign to the ſubject.

March 4.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. V. p.* 344—37[illegible] This part is replete with erudition, and enters into many curious particulars concerning the horns which adorn the head of Ammon, Juno, Bacchus, Rivers, Alexander, and his ſucceſſors.

5.]—I glanced over *the New Aretin.* Groſs igno[illegible]

rance, blackguard buffoonery, and impertinent reaſonings, which have not even the merit of novelty, diſgrace this wretched performance, which would be thrown by with diſguſt, did it not attack religion with the moſt ſhocking indecency.

6.]—I finiſhed *the forty-ſixth volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Suetonius, by Oudendorp.* The edition is good, but unneceſſary after that of Grævius. Why are the excellent commentaries of Torrentius and Caſaubon omitted? — *Memoirs of Queen Chriſtina:* a curious work and of immenſe induſtry.—*Memoirs of the Academy of Peterſburgh.* All the inſtitutions of the Ruſſians ought to be well contrived, and ſkilfully proportioned. They may be made at one caſt, from models highly improved among their neighbours.—*A New Hiſtorical and Critical Dictionary, by Mr. Chaufepié:* the learning and accuracy of Bayle, without his philoſophy and genius.

9.]—I wrote three pages and a half of my *Geographical Collection.* I have now finiſhed the chapter on *Samnium*, by a complete abridgment of what concerns the *Samnites* and the Duchy of *Beneventum.* I have alſo begun the chapter on *Apulia:* and finiſhed the firſt diviſion, viz. the territory of the *Hirpini.*

March 10.]—I wrote nearly four pages of my *Geographical Collection;* containing the remainder of *Apulia.* There is a pretty extenſive article on *Tarentum.*

I finiſhed *the forty-ſeventh volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée.* It contains *Critical Memoirs on the Swiſs, by Mr. Bochat;* turning on the vain and futile ſcience of etymology. — *Wetſtein's New Teſtament.* The Alexandrian manuſcript appears to have been written

in Egypt towards the end of the fifth century.—*Letters on Jubilees, by Mr. le Chais*: learned and philoſophical.—*Monogomy, by Mr. Premontval.* Why ſhould religion be introduced into a queſtion depending on calculation and circumſtances? —*Defence of Chriſtianity, by Dr. Stebbing.* He is a good polemic, but embraces too wide a field; the outermoſt works ſhould be relinquiſhed. — *Moſes defended againſt Appian, by the Abbé Richer du Bouchet.* He ſtill throws an air of myſtery over his chronological ſyſtem. I ſpeak not decidedly, but to me he appears a little of a viſionary. 1. He ſpeaks of the Egyptian dynaſties as he would of the court of Lewis XIV.; ſhowing too much confidence and certainty on a ſubject, which admits only of probability and conjecture. 2. When he inveſtigates the key to Manethon's hiſtorical fragment, he quits the road of criticiſm, but gives us to underſtand that this knot can be unravelled only by geometrical analyſis. Does not this ſavour of madneſs? 3. Eſau and Oſiris! Their ſameneſs, I ſee, is the foundation of his ſyſtem. How eaſily might it be refuted! No two princes, if Oſiris was really a prince, had ever leſs reſemblance.

March 11.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter on *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection*; comprehending almoſt the whole of *Lucania* properly ſo called.

12.]—I wrote two pages on the chapter of *Lucania*, comprehending the reſt of proper *Lucania* and a part of *Brutium.*

13.]—I wrote only three quarters of a page of my chapter on *Lucania*, being a continuation of *Brutium.*

14.]—I read a new work by Voltaire; *Treatiſe on Toleration*. The end is commendable; to awaken in the ſoul the feelings of humanity, and diſplay the dreadful conſequences of ſuperſtition. But in point of execution this work is a trifling collection of common-place remarks, in which the author expatiates rather on every other topic than the great principles belonging to his ſubject. I am diverted with his falſe and contradictory concluſions concerning ancient hiſtory. This hiſtory; he ſays, is filled with prodigies. They cannot be true; therefore ancient hiſtory conſiſts merely of fables and conjectures". Again, this hiſtory is filled with prodigies: we are obliged to believe them; therefore the principles of nature, as well as of men, were quite different than from what they are at preſent". He calls in queſtion the infamous debaucheries of Tiberius in the iſland of Capreæ. Yet Tacitus and Suetonius were almoſt the contemporaries of that prince. I perceive not any marks of hatred in their works. They often juſtify Tiberius, and diſtinguiſh with as much penetration as honeſty the different ſtages of the diſſimulation, cruelty, and public debaucheries of that emperor. The abominable licentiouſneſs of thoſe times is well known; and it is not matter of ſurpriſe that Tiberius ſhould refuſe nothing to his appetites, when he had the unbounded power of gratifying them with impunity, eſpecially when they were concealed by his retirement from the public eye, which is the only reſtraint on the behaviour of a deſpot. As for thoſe refinements in debauchery which aſtoniſh Voltaire, it is preciſely

in an old profligate of seventy that I should expect to meet with them".

March 15.]—I finished *the forty-eighth volume of the Bibliothéque Raisonnée.* It contains the *Discoveries made at Herculaneum, by the Marquis Venuti.* This ancient city, which deserved to be examined more accurately and faithfully, was found at the depth of seventy-three feet under many successive beds of earth and vitrified stone. Herculaneum was but an obscure place; yet it was adorned by a theatre three hundred feet in circumference, raised on brick-pilasters, covered with a beautiful varnish, and ornamented with cornices of marble.—*Letters on Jubilees.* It is difficult to distinguish with theologians between the defilement of sin and its punishment. In the church of the Feuillants at Paris, indulgences may be procured, in the space of one Lent, for 150,000 years. —*Essay on Spirit.* This work of the Bishop of Clogher contains a metaphysical Arianism.—*Dissertation on the Chronology of Usher.* The Abbé Richer again. This man is a fool. Wherefore so much rage against the Jews and Protestants in treating a question of criticism? He rejects the chronology of the Jews, because it came from the school of Tiberias, and is approved by a Protestant bishop.

March 16.]—I wrote a page of the chapter of *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection;* it is the continuation of *Brutium.*

17.]—I wrote a page and a half of my chapter on *Lucania*, concerning *Magna Græcia:* after which I went to the library to read Freret's learned researches on the first inhabitants of Italy; *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters. Vol. xviii. p.* 72—114.

18.]—I wrote a page and a half of the chapter entitled "*Nations*" in my *Geographical Collection*; it treats of the firſt communities in *Italy*.

March 19]—I wrote a page and a half on the chapter "*Nations*," concerning the firſt communities in *Italy*.

I finiſhed *the forty-ninth volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée*. It contains *Letters on the Uſe of the Pronoun Thou, by Mr. Vernet:* I am inclined to think both *thou* and *you* ought to be uſed.—*Conſiderations on Morals, by Mr. Du Clos.* The work is in general good: ſome chapters treating of the connexion of genius with character are excellent. Du Clos, before he was ſecretary of the academy, has been that of the coffee houſe; where he carefully treaſured up the converſations of men of wit.—*The Roman Hiſtory of Dion Caſſius, by Meſſrs. Fabricius and Raimar:* an excellent edition. *Maupertuis' Works*, and *Appeal to the Public, by Mr. Kenig.* In his own works, Maupertuis appears only as an extravagant viſionary, whoſe fame reſts not on any ſolid baſis. In his diſpute with Kenig he is a cowardly perſecutor who employs the ſecular arm to cruſh one of his colleagues.—*The Spirit of Nations:* a wretched imitation.—*The Treaſury of Imperial Medals, by Morell, with the Commentaries of Gori and Havercamp*: what riches! — *Wetſtein's New Teſtament.* In a diſpute which the Franciſcans had with John XXII. they firſt gave that explanation of the Revelations, which makes the Pope Antichriſt. Numerous ſwarms of thoſe monks left their convents, and embraced Luther's reformation. They ſpread this Capuchin notion among the Proteſtants.

March 20.]—I wrote a page and a half of my *Geographical Collection*, which finiſhes the chapter on the *Nations of Italy*.

21.]—I wrote four pages of the chapter *Campania* in my *Geographical Collection*. They treat of *the Diviſion of that Country and Latium proper*.

I finiſhed *the fiftieth Volume of the Bibliothéque Raiſonnée*. It contains, *Eſſay on the Nature of the Office of Sacrificer*. The Chriſtian clergy have perhaps ſucceeded only to the philoſophers and prophets, who taught morality; and not to the prieſts, who performed ſacrifices and other parts of the ceremonial law.—*Scarron's Works*. His comic Romance alone will live: in other parts of his works, the wit is rather in the ſtyle than in the thought. At beſt, it reſults from the contraſt between his character and ſituation.—*St. Clement's two Epiſtles, in Syriac and Latin. Diſſertation on two Epiſtles, &c.* Dr. Lardner diſputes Mr. Wetſtein's diſcovery of this monument of the firſt Chriſtians. *Sub judice lis eſt.* St. Clement's ideas on celibacy are carried, I perceive, to great extravance. But even *they* are natural to the enthuſiaſm of a riſing and perſecuted ſect! If theſe epiſtles are authentic, St. John muſt have written his Goſpel a long time before the old age of Clement, who was only in his thirtieth year in A. D. 60.

It is a great convenience to have always at hand ſome book containing eaſy and intereſting productions, that may be read by ſnatches, at moments which would otherwiſe be loſt. Nothing agſwers this end better than a good journal; which title the *Bibliothéque Raiſonnée* certainly merits. It may be divided however into two parts, of nearly equal

extent, but of completely different characters. The first part is adapted to the taste for true learning which prevailed in the seventeenth century; containing a great deal of theology, jurisprudence, and Belles Lettres; erudition drawn from the source, and mixed with sound criticism. The spirit of religious controversy is rather too prevalent; and we are disgusted with too much minuteness, or provoked at too much asperity. The second part of the journal has more affinity with the taste at present; uniting much indifference about theology, with superficiality of learning, and boldness in philosophy; its tone is dogmatical, and its style more broken into short sentences and more metaphorical.

March 22.] — I wrote a page and a half of my *Geographical Collection*, containing *a Description of the Countries of the Rutili and Hernici*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

23.]—I wrote near three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the countries of the *Volsci* and *Ausones*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

March 24.]—I wrote a page of my chapter on *Campania*, which is the beginning of *Campania proper*.

25.]—I wrote about three pages, finishing the chapter on *Campania*, and inserting some detached materials into other chapters.

26.]—I wrote nearly three pages of my chapter on *Rome*.

27.]—I wrote more than a page and a half of my chapter on *Rome*.

28.] —I wrote more than two pages of the chapter on *Rome*.

29]—I wrote two pages on the *Itineraries and high Roads of the Romans;* and ſtop ſhort at preſent with a rich fund of ninety-two folio-pages cloſely written. My travels in Italy, with my future ſtudies, will ſwell this collection to ſuch a magnitude, that it will be neceſſary for me only to arrange my materials to have a complete deſcription of Italy.

30]—I reſumed the peruſal of *Spanheim, de Uſu & Præſtantia Numiſmatum;* of which I read *Diſſert. V. p.* 373—436. He treats of the medals of kings, particularly the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and the epithets beſtowed on them—friends to the Romans or Greeks; victorious; thunderers; great kings; king of kings; autocrator, or poſſeſſor of independent power; the name of God in general; and the particular names of Bacchus, of God the Saviour, or Soter; and of God manifeſted on earth, (*Epiphanes*, which is not fully tranſlated by *illuſtrious.*)—All theſe medals are Greek. We have not any other medals of Barbarian kings, but thoſe ſtruck by the Greek cities in their dominions.

I read *Piron's Comedy*, *Métromanie*, which there was an intention of acting at Mon Repos. The verſification is beautiful, and many of the ſentiments correct and well expreſſed. This applies to the whole ſcene between Mr. Ballivau and Damis. But I never read any thing worſe contrived than the plot. There is much confuſion in that part which regards the lovers Dorante and Lucile. The part of Damis is diverting, but unnatural. Where is it poſſible to find a poet that will reſign a rich and handſome miſtreſs for another that has no exiſtence but in the Mercury? What an extravagant attempt is it,

endeavour to render the character of this poet at once heroical and ridiculous! Compare together his ſcene with his uncle and that with his valet. I know that in Moliere's maſter-piece, the Miſanthrope is at once ridiculous and reſpectable. But this happens becauſe his faults conſiſt in virtues carried to exceſs; which, though ridiculous in their effects, are reſpectable in their principle. There is no connexion in the part of Damis. The bad poet is one character; the juſt and generous man who pardons his friend's faults, and anſwers his inſults only by good offices, is quite a different one. If probability is not violated, unity at leaſt is not maintained. But how improbable is the reception which Damis gives to the laſt declaration of Dorante. His tranſports cannot be conceived as natural, without ſuppoſing him domineered by the *Métromanie* in its utmoſt force. Yet he receives an account of the fall of his tragedy with indifference, calling this a *trifling matter*. Had he pardoned Dorante for attempting to put him to death, but remained inexorable to the crime of hiſſing his play, the character would have appeared to me to be better ſupported.

March 31.]—I read *Spanheim*, *Diſſert. V. p.* 476—494; and *Diſſert. VI. p.* 494—553. He proceeds to the conſular medals; the names and ſurnames of the Romans, and their different offices repreſented on medals. I expected to have found more novelty in this part of his work.

I went to the library to read *Mr. de la Condamine's Journal of his Travels in Italy*, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for* 1757, *p.* 386—411. I was pleaſed to find the heights of ſeveral mountains in

fathoms measured by the barometer. They are as follow:

Level of the sea, - - -	0
The Rhone, and Lake of Geneva, and Canigon, the top of the Pyrenees -	1410
Quito in Peru, - - - -	1430
The road over Mount Cenis, -	1460
The highest point of Mount Cenis, -	1510
Pic of Teneriffe, - - -	2150
Mount Blanc, 14 or 15 leagues to the south-east of Geneva, and visible at 60 leagues off, at Langres, -	2676
Chimboraco, the highest mountain of the Cordilleras of the Andes, and perhaps of the world, -	3220

Mr. Condamine remarks, that in the Roman highways the joinings of the stones are never placed in the same direction with that of the motion of the carriages that travelled over them; and that the bed of the Tiber must have acquired ten or twelve feet in height, because the ancient pavement of the pantheon is overflowed to that height every winter. The emerald of Genoa is only a piece of glass.

April 1.]—I read *Spanheim*, *Dissert. VI. p.* 533—589; and *Dissert. VII. p.* 589—633. He continues the chapter concerning offices, particularly those of legates and proprætors, whom the emperors sent into the provinces, and who were distinguished by the epithet "Consular" towards the time of the Antonines. He then proceeds to the medals of emperors and empresses. I have met with nothing more curious than the article concerning those princesses. I should not be a stranger at their courts, since

ould diſtinguiſh the two Fauſtinas by their reſpec-
ve head-dreſſes.

April 2.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. VII. p.* 633—
60. He continues to ſpeak of women, and the
lations of the Cæſars.

3.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. VIII. p.* 660—737.
his part is very curious; containing an account of
e different titles, which, by their union, formed
e Imperial authority: Cæſar, Auguſtus, Impe-
tor, High Prieſt, Father of the Country, Pro-
nſul, Tribune—all theſe taken together rendered
e emperors far greater than kings. This laſt title
as alſo given to them as early as the time of Domi-
n by Greek hiſtorians and Latin poets, though
oſe princes themſelves did not venture to aſſume it,
l the time of Conſtantine and the lower empire,
hen all republican maxims had been effaced from
e minds of their ſubjects.

I went to the library to re-examine Mr. de la Con-
mine's Journal, which I had read too haſtily. I
t with the two following particulars concerning
e height of mountains. 1. The 1460 fathoms given
the altitude of Mount Cenis are not applicable to
e road, but to a ſtation far more elevated, which
r. de la Condamine reached with the utmoſt diffi-
ty. The Pilgrim's Hoſpital is five hundred
oms lower. 2. Falio de Duillier made the Lake
Geneva 426 fathoms above the level of the ſea,
Mount Blanc 2000 fathoms higher: in all 2426
oms. But of the two elements of this calcula-
n, the one is taken too high, and the other too
. Mr. de Cheſeaux, meaſuring a larger baſe,
nd Mount Blanc to be 2250 fathoms above the

level of the lake; but the height given to the lake above the sea, corrected by barometrical observations at Geneva, Turin, and Genoa, appears to be only 188, instead of 426 fathoms: so that the true height of Mount Blanc is 2438 fathoms. M. de la Condamine thus rectifies, in the History of the Academy, the notions which he had not sufficiently examined when he published his journal.

April 4.]—I read *Spanheim, de Usu Numismatum, Dissert. VIII. p. 737—757.* After discussing the honorary titles of princes, he proceeds to the medals called the *Spintriæ* of Tiberius: he believes them to have been pieces of money that were scattered among the common people at the obscene games of Flora. He then treats of colonies; sacred, free, and independent cities; the bounties of the emperors; the *vehiculatio Italiæ;* the arrears of imposts; the whole forming a classic book on the subject of medals.

I finished *Bayle's General Criticism on Maimbourg's History of Calvinism; in* 12mo. *Villa Franca*, 168[illegible] *third edition.* The fashion of the age made the philosopher Bayle enter the lists of controversy; into which he brought with him a measure of knowledge, precision, and candor, as well as entertainment, seldom exhibited there. In his reasonings concerning infallibility, and the rights of an erroneous conscience, you see the accurate and enlightened dialectician; but he is rather too diffuse. No man was ever better qualified than Bayle for assuming the character of his adversary, showing his system in a new garb, and for availing himself of all the

places open to assault; which is one of the greatest advantages of the sceptical philosophy. His chapters on the marriage of the clergy are full of pleasantry, learning, and knowledge of human nature; and his two letters on the love of parents towards their children, and on jealousy, contain a profound philosophy; in which he unfolds a chain of prejudices connected with our existence, necessary for our happiness, and intended by the Supreme Being to supply the place of a reason too exalted for the bulk of mankind, and too weak to be a principle of action. The new letters appear to me far superior to the two first volumes.

April 5.]—I read only *the ninth Dissert. of Spanheim*, p. 813—834. He treats of kings appointed by the Romans.

April 7.]—I spent the whole morning in the library, reading very extensive articles in the second part of the third volume of *Monfaucon's Explanation of Antiquities*. He treats of the theatres and amphitheatres of the Romans.

April 9.]—I read a considerable part of *Keysler*, in order to extract from him whatever might be useful in my travels in Italy; on which I set out in a few days with Guise. I am much pleased with Keysler; his work is useful, curious, and learned without affectation. When I consider how well he examined Italy in nine months, I am sensible that time is long, when we know how to make a good use of it.

10.]—I read *Spanheim*, *Dissert. IX. p.* 834—860. He treats of the victories of the emperors, their public works, and the *speeches* which *they only* had a right to make to the soldiers. The heads of accusation

againſt *Metius Voluſianus* were not ſo ridiculous ac
cording to Roman, as they would be according t
modern manners. Monteſquieu and Spanheim
think alike on this ſubject; the ſuggeſtions of genius
are confirmed by erudition.

April 11.]—I read *Spanheim, Diſſert. IX. p.* 860—91
which concludes the work. He treats of the aſſiſtance
which chronology and geography may derive from
medals. Mr. d'Alembert's ignorance on this ſubject
is pardonable.

April 12]—I re-examined Spanheim's work, which
is a real treaſury of medallic erudition, a claſſic book
on this ſcience.

April 14.]—I read haſtily Vaillant's book on the
medals of colonies, with a reference to the article of
Julius Cæſar. I much wiſh that I had time to exa
mine it more deeply.

16.]—I found leiſure, amidſt multiplied occupa
tions, to read Vaillant down to the reign of Claudius.
I wiſh he had mentioned the cabinets in which his
medals are to be found.

Genoa, June 11.]—I have done nothing in the
way of ſtudy but read the firſt ſeven epiſtles of the
firſt book of Horace; who was as delightful a philo
ſopher as an excellent poet. At leiſure-moments I
tranſlated into Engliſh ſome parts of my Collection,
which ſuggeſted to me various obſervations concer
ning the different idioms of the two languages, and
the extreme difficulty of writing in both, without
injuring the purity of either. One morning I gave
way to reflections which had often occurred to me
on ancient coins; and was ſo well diſpoſed for dili
gence;

gence, that, with the assistance of a few books, I might have made great progress in the subject. I believe that *the pound Troy* was the ancient Roman pound. Until more accurate researches are made, which however have hitherto been neglected, I would propose the following table. The denarius should be ascertained by a mean proportional between the estimate of Greaves and Arbuthnot, and the conclusion resulting from the *Farnese Congius*; deducting a sixth part for alloy.

The Roman denarius, or Greek drachma, will make 7 1/2 English pence, about 14 French sous.

The Attic talent 187 l. 10 s.; about 4280 French livres.

The sestertium, or *great sesterce*, 7 l. 16 s. 3 d. or 180 French livres.

Florence, June 25.] — I procured two volumes of *Mr. Gori's Symbolæ Florentinæ*, in order to read Mr. Muratori's dissertation on the brazen table found near *Velleia*, which he has prefixed to an accurate plate of the table itself. See *Symbolæ*, *Vol. v. p.* 1—56, and seven sheets for the table itself. It is written with as much precision and perspicuity as learning. Mr. Muratori is not a mere *antiquary*. He proves clearly that Trajan first instituted the *Pueri Alimentarii* in Italy, A. D. 103; and that this institution was supported by his successors to the time of Pertinax, who entirely abolished it. He thinks that this inscription, far longer than any other, may throw much light on the history, geography, and economy of that age. I quite agree with him; but, after maturely considering the inscription, do not think that he

has ſeen all the conſequences which ought to be drawn from it.

July 2.]—I carefully re-examined Muratori's diſſertation. I take the trouble of extracting from the bronze-table the rents which a vaſt number of citizens of *Velleia* covenant to pay, and the funds from which they are to raiſe them The taſk is dry and unpleaſant; but, before building an edifice, it is neceſſary to lay the foundation; there muſt be bricklayers as well as architects. I hope to benefit by this enumeration.

July 4.]—I finiſhed the volume of *Statues*, with Gori's obſervations.

14.]—I read *Mr. Mallet's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Denmark*, with *a Tranſlation of the Edda*, the ſacred book of the ancient Celts We have now half a dozen of bibles, if we include our own. A valuable work might be written, giving a philoſophical picture of religions, their genius, reaſonings, and influence on the manners, government, philoſophy, and poetry of their reſpective votaries. Mr. Mallet is a man of ſenſe and candor; he has carefully examined his ſubject, but treats it with more perſpicuity than elegance. His great principle, that the religion of Odin formed that character of the northern nations, whoſe effects are ſtill perceptible among ourſelves, is judicious, in many reſpects well founded, and perfectly well illuſtrated. He makes excellent obſervations on the populouſneſs of the North; tending to ſhow that the numerous ſwarms which iſſued from it in ancient times do not prove it to have been more populous than it is at preſent. The Edda ſupplied him with copious materials

on the ſubject of religion and morals. In treating of government, he has not a voucher equally authentic, and is obliged to have recourſe to Tacitus and analogy. Theſe guides are not always to be truſted. Tacitus indeed comprehended Scandinavia under the name of Germany; but in his general deſcription of the Germanic inſtitutions, he had chiefly in view the nations with which he was beſt acquainted, thoſe ſituate near the Rhine and the Danube. Beſides, it is not certain that the religion of Odin is as old as the time of Tacitus. When that hiſtorian takes it for a truth certain and incontrovertible, that the Germans were indigenous, and that the purity of their blood was never corrupted by any foreign admixture, there is difficulty in conceiving how he could be ignorant that a great Scythian colony had conquered Scandinavia one hundred and fifty years before his own times. I would rather ſuppoſe with Dalin, that Odin's migration happened in the reign of Trajan. That conqueror's deſign muſt have been greatly facilitated by the weakneſs of the Cimbri, and the ſlavery of the *Sinones*, ſufficiently indicated in Tacitus. This era tends to ſhow that the poverty of human invention, as well as the policy of prophets, always obliges them to enrich new religions at the expenſe of the old, and to mould them conformably to the national character. A religion inculcating the fear of death would have met with a very unfavorable reception among the Celts. The genius of Odin's ſuperſtition and morals prevailed among the Cimbri, who were long anterior to that legiſlator; and among the Celtiberians, who probably never heard of his

name. As to the country from which the author of the Edda came, I would adopt the common tradition which fixes his ancient ſeat in the neighbourhood of the Tanais and the Palus Mæotis. I am not frightened at the greatneſs of the diſtance. Great journies are accompliſhed by ſavage nations, and their ſcanty geographical knowledge is often extended by accident. A Scythian of the tribe of *Aſæ*, taken priſoner by his neighbours, may have paſſed through ſucceſſive maſters to the ſhore of the Baltic. At his return, he would deſcribe the advantageous ſituation of the country, and the facility with which its conqueſt might be effected. Odin (we muſt ſuppoſe him, a man of genius) would perceive, that the nations bordering on the empire were leſs ignorant, and more warlike, than thoſe removed at a greater diſtance; and that the leader of a ſmall tribe, who wiſhed to found a great kingdom, muſt march againſt the northern extremity. The intermediate nations would gladly deliver themſelves from a dangerous invader by granting to him a free paſſage; a favor which, in an age little ſkilled in the art of fortification, is of ſmall importance; and which the heroical ſincerity of barbarians ſeldom permitted them to abuſe. The courſes of the great rivers muſt have much facilitated his journey. He would ſail up the *Tanais* and the *Volga*, to deſcend with the ſtream of the *Dina* to the neighbourhood of Riga. The ſources of thoſe rivers are not widely diſtant from each other; and when the land was leſs elevated by ſeventy-eight feet than it is at preſent, there may have been communications, now loſt, between neighbouring ſeas. Odin eſtabliſhed his worſhip in Scandinavia. Thence

ſpread among the northern nations of Germany called Saxons, by whom it was carried into England in the fifth century. In thoſe countries only, I think, we ought to look for it: Mr. Mallet's ſyſtem ſuppoſes it too extenſive. I do not find in the Edda that Odin the conqueror of the North, and the prieſt of a god alſo named Odin, wiſhed ever to paſs himſelf for a divinity; nor that the Scandinavians ever worſhipped deified men; a worſhip much rarer than is commonly imagined. Odin the conqueror boaſted of being a magician; a pretenſion altogether inconſiſtent with that of his divinity.

July 16.] — I did not wiſh to proceed with Mr. Mallet's large hiſtory, which followed his introduction; this would have diverted me too much from my preſent purſuits; but I could not deny myſelf the pleaſure of reading a detached part, relative to the converſion of Scandinavia, in order to ſee the downfal of Odin's ſuperſtition, of which I had beheld the eſtabliſhment, and examined the principles. This ſubject is treated dryly, and without taſte. An important queſtion occurs, why the inhabitants of the North ſhould have ſo obſtinately rejected Chriſtianity, while their countrymen eſtabliſhed in the empire embraced it with the utmoſt readineſs. Mr. Mallet will anſwer, that the latter conſiſted only of unſteady young men who had left their native country before they were thoroughly confirmed in the prejudices of their anceſtors. Yet he well knows that ſeveral of thoſe migrations were made by communities at large; and that the young men were accompanied by men far advanced in years, whoſe hearts and principles were no longer ſuſcept-

ible of change; by women whoſe weakneſs and timidity render them peculiarly prone to ſuperſtition; as well as by bards, prieſts, and propheteſſes, who combated the new worſhip by every weapon that either cuſtom, fear, or honor could ſupply. This explanation, therefore, will not anſwer the purpoſe. Neither do I think it probable that the leaders of the Barbarians embraced Chriſtianity through policy, and ventured to provoke the conquerors, in order to ingratiate themſelves with the conquered, whom they deſpiſed. Beſides, thoſe leaders of the Vandals and Burgundians embraced Arianiſm. Policy would not have taught them to adopt the ſentiments of the ſmalleſt portion of their ſubjects. I believe the true reaſon for the difference aroſe merely from this circumſtance, that the one claſs left their country, whereas the other remained at home. I ſpeak not here of the Saxons, who knew Chriſtianity only by baptiſm and puniſhment; and whoſe love of liberty rejected that religion as a badge of the imperious laws impoſed by Charlemagne. I have in view only thoſe nations among whom Chriſtianity appeared not as a conqueror or perſecutor, but as a ſupplicant. All religions depend in ſome degree on local circumſtances. The leaſt ſuperſtitious Chriſtian would feel more devotion on Mount Calvary than in London. Among learned nations reading and reflection, and among the nations of the Eaſt a natural warmth of fancy, ſupply, in ſome meaſure, the real preſence of objects, and give to them, in all times, and in all places, a mental exiſtence. But mental repreſentations are too ſubtile to make an impreſſion on the phlegmatic inſenſibility of Scandinavians; and a miſſionary muſt

have combated their faith with great disadvantage in their native country. The temple of Upsal in which they had purchased the favor of Odin by thousands of human victims; those rocks which the ancient Scaldi had covered with Runic characters, the more venerable because unintelligible; those mounts which religion had raised to the glory of their ancestors, and by which they hoped that their own would be perpetuated: — all these objects kept possession of their minds, because they were continually striking their senses. But the nations of Germany, when transported into southern countries, lost hold of the firmest foundation of their faith. Temples, altars, tombs, and consecrated places were all on the side of a new religion, which naturally insinuated itself into the void of credulity left craving in their minds. They first wondered, and then believed. The changes produced by a new climate in their modes of life, and in the education of their children, tended to estrange them from a superstition better adapted to the banks of the Elbe than to those of the Tagus, and to forests than to cities. A Barbarian, who had tasted the wine of Falernum, would not feel much desire of intoxicating himself with hydromel at Odin's festival; and when he panted under an African sun, a hell open to the north-wind would not greatly excite his terror. His understanding would be improved, and his heart softened, in his perpetual intourse with the vanquished; and every cause would concur to make him quit a mode of worship founded in ignorance and barbarism, and to substitute in its stead a religion connected with science which he began to relish, and inculcating the virtues of huma-

nity which he began to value. He was beſides rounded by a nation of miſſionaries, whoſe zeal animated by a perſonal intereſt in the converſio their maſters, that thoſe fierce tigers might be fined in the chains of religion. Biſhops, pri and women, who mingled careſſes with controv were ſedulous to convert the princes and great n whoſe example was eaſily followed by that of careleſs multitude. Such means of converſion ar more efficacious than thoſe with which a few B dictines are furniſhed, who travel into the wo of Sweden to preach patience, humility, and fai numerous bands of pirates. Theſe warriors ei maſſacred the prieſts, or ſpared them through r contempt. An apparent exception to this th tends really to confirm it: the Saxons, who ſe in England, were not converted till one hun and fifty years after their eſtabliſhment in country. This happened, becauſe they drove ancient inhabitants into Wales; becauſe the cli of England was not widely different from their o and becauſe this kingdom was the leaſt poliſhed the Roman provinces. But the ſame cauſes oper on the Saxons, though more ſlowly; and v they began to enjoy tranquillity at home, they dily embraced Chriſtianity as taught them by Roman miſſionaries

A proteſtant would alſo obſerve, that the C tianity of the tenth century is of far more diff digeſtion than that of the fifth. It certainly is a man who reaſons.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM